

**FREEDOM IN AMAZONIA:
THE BLACK PEASANTRY OF PARÁ, BRAZIL, 1850-1950**

by

Oscar de la Torre Cueva

BA (Licenciado) in History, Universitat de Barcelona, 1997

MA in History, University of Pittsburgh, 2007

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Arts and Sciences in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Pittsburgh

2011

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH
SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Oscar de la Torre Cueva

It was defended on

August 8, 2011

and approved by

George Reid Andrews, Distinguished Professor of History

Alejandro de la Fuente, UCIS Research Professor of History

John Frechione, Associate Director, Center for Latin American Studies

Lara Putnam, Associate Professor of History

Dissertation Director: George Reid Andrews, Distinguished Professor of History

Copyright © by Oscar de la Torre Cueva

2011

**FREEDOM IN AMAZONIA:
THE BLACK PEASANTRY OF PARÁ, BRAZIL, 1850-1950**

Oscar de la Torre Cueva, PhD

University of Pittsburgh, 2011

More than 40,000 enslaved Africans were brought to Amazonia between the late seventeenth century and the 1840s. By the second half of the nineteenth century their cultural and economic adaptation to the region had become very visible: the slaves acquired knowledge of Amazonian agriculture, learned the opportunities for collecting forest and river products, and forged bonds of kin and culture. When slavery was abolished in 1888, the freedmen took advantage of the gradual impoverishment of plantation areas to appropriate plots of land that had belonged to their former masters, creating numerous peasant communities. This implied not only re-configuring residential, work, and leisure spaces, but also crafting new narratives of owning and belonging to the land.

Outside of plantations, groups of escaped slaves proliferated along the Amazon's tributary rivers. Like their enslaved counterparts, by the second half of the nineteenth century the runaways gradually abandoned the hard life of marronage. They maintained relations with itinerant merchants, missionaries, and political patrons to gain stability and establish themselves as autonomous rural producers. In the early 1900s local elites sought to buy the lands where the maroon-descendants lived in order to subject them to coerced labor. Some black peasants accommodated to the new situation but others resisted it by employing varied individual,

collective, and confrontational strategies, which included participating in multi-racial protests against land privatization.

Local modes of production and trade in Amazonia impinged upon the history of Afro-descendants in complex and contradictory ways. While under slavery the regional economy facilitated the conversion of slaves into peasants and the viability of marronage, in the early- to mid-twentieth century local elites perfected new ways of curbing peasant autonomy. In turn, black peasants tried to maintain themselves as autonomous producers, asserting their right not only to reside on the land and to cultivate it, but also to gather its resources freely.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	XII
1.0 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 STRUCTURE.....	14
2.0 THE ORIGINS OF AFRICAN SLAVERY AND MARRONAGE IN THE AMAZON, 1750-C.1850	17
2.1 REFORMULATING THE INDIAN’S ROLE	19
2.2 IMPORTING AFRICAN SLAVES	25
2.3 LOCAL NETWORKS BEYOND ETHNIC AND LEGAL BORDERS.....	32
2.4 AMAZON MAROONS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.....	38
2.5 WARTIME NETWORKS: THE CABANAGEM REVOLT	44
2.6 RECOVERY AND CHANGE	49
3.0 FREEDOM IN THE TROMBETAS RIVER, 1850-1920.....	54
3.1 UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE WATERFALLS, 1840-1870S	57
3.2 EXCHANGING GOODS, EXCHANGING FUTURES	65
3.3 MAROONS WITHOUT SLAVERY: 1888-C.1930.....	70
4.0 RURAL SLAVERY IN PARÁ, C.1850-1888.....	80
4.1 A “WILD AND DIVERSIFIED SCENERY”: SLAVES IN THE AMAZON ECONOMY.....	83

4.2	LEARNING LOCAL AGRICULTURE.....	88
4.3	PRACTICING LOCAL AGRICULTURE	92
4.4	“CHILDREN OF THE HOUSE”: BUILDING FAMILY BONDS	97
4.5	A “LARGE FAMILY OF CHILDREN”: PATERNALISM IN AMAZON PLANTATIONS	102
4.6	TRANSFORMATIONS	108
4.7	ENTERING THE PATHS OF FREEDOM	112
5.0	“CITIZENS OF TAUAPARÁ”: APPROPRIATING LAND IN CACAU (VIGIA, PARÁ), 1874-C.1960.....	115
5.1	ORGANIZING SPACE AT THE SANTO ANTÔNIO DA CAMPINA PLANTATION	117
5.2	CAMPINA IN TRANSITION	123
5.3	CAMPINA TRANSFORMED.....	128
5.4	“THEIR BIRTH CRADLE”.....	134
5.5	CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE AND THE LAW	140
5.6	CONCLUSION	147
6.0	WINNERS, LOSERS, AND IN-BETWEENS IN THE BRAZIL NUT TRADE, LOWER AMAZON, 1920-1960.....	150
6.1	GOING NUTS.....	153
6.2	CONTROLLING LAND.....	158
6.3	CONTROLLING LABOR.....	165
6.4	OPPOSITIONAL RESPONSES	172
6.5	“FATHERS OF THE PEOPLE” AND “BOOTLICKERS”	177

6.6	CONCLUSION	184
7.0	COLLECTIVE PROTEST, 1921-1943	187
7.1	“THE SENTIMENT OF REVOLT THAT DOMINATES THEM”: ALENQUER, 1921	189
7.2	ETHNICITY, LAND, AND POWER	196
7.3	INSTITUTING PRIVATE PROPERTY IN THE <i>CASTANHAIS</i>	201
7.4	“A PEOPLE ZEALOUS OF ITS RIGHTS”	206
7.5	“BARATISMO”: “VARGUISMO” IN PARÁ	215
8.0	CONCLUSIONS	221
8.1	PLANTATION SLAVERY, CABOCLIZATION, AND AUTONOMY	221
8.2	CURBING PEASANT AUTONOMY.....	225
8.3	STRUGGLING OVER LABOR, GIVING MEANING TO FREEDOM ..	226
8.4	THE AFTERMATH OF THE BRAZIL NUT RUSH.....	228
	APPENDIX A : SLAVES OF THE SANTO ANTÔNIO DA CAMPINA PLANTATION, 1874.....	231
	APPENDIX B : SLAVE FAMILIES AT THE SANTO ANTÔNIO DA CAMPINA PLANTATION, 1874.....	234
	APPENDIX C : BRAZIL NUT PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS FROM PARÁ AND SELECTED COUNTIES, 1877-1935	237
9.0	BIBLIOGRAPHY	240
9.1	ARCHIVES	240
9.2	INTERVIEWS	242
9.3	NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.....	244

9.4	PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES	245
9.5	SECONDARY SOURCES	253

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1. Slaveholdings in Pará, 1856-1886	85
Table A.1. Slaves of the Santo Antônio da Campina Plantation	231
Table C.1. Brazil Nut Production and Exports from Para and Selected Counties, 1877-1935 ..	237

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Areas with a Significant Historical Presence of Afro-Descendants, Pará (Brazil)	5
Figure 2.1. Slaves Disembarked in Belém, 1752-1835, with 5-Year Moving Average	27
Figure 3.1. Maroons in the Trombetas and Erepecuru rivers before 1888	67
Figure 3.2. Maroon Settlements in the Trombetas River, Late 1800s-Early 1900s.....	71
Figure 4.1. The Plantation Region of Pará, Brazil, c.1850-1888.....	82
Figure 5.1. Functioning of a Tide Mill	120
Figure 6.1. Arrival of Maroon-Descendants and Brazil Nut Merchants to the Trombetas, Erepecuru, and Curuá Lakes Area, Lower Amazon, c.1870-1920	151
Figure B.1. Libânia's family	234
Figure B.2. Ingrácia's family.....	234
Figure B.3. Maria Cassange's Family	235
Figure B.4. The Family of Leopoldina, Absent	235
Figure B.5. Dorothea's family	235
Figure B.6. Carlota's Family	235
Figure B.7. The Family of Margarida, Absent.....	236
Figure B.8. Delfina and Sotero	236

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing a dissertation takes years, and life happens while you do it. During my last year of writing my father passed away, and so did my grandmother three weeks later. Both helped me with their permanent support, their financial help, and their concerns about my future. I hope that my love and my gratitude will reach them wherever they are. To mitigate their absence someone joined me along the way: my son Jun Marcel, who made me feel re-born and full of optimism from the instant he came to the world. And there is somebody else who did not leave my life and did not enter it either, because they were always there: my wife Irene and my son Pau Jordi, who along with Jun constitute my safest port in a stormy world. It is to them that I dedicate this dissertation – they are on every page of it. My mother was another source of permanent and reliable support (emotional, personal, psychological, and financial), and my three sisters Cris, Conchi, and Ascen, backed me at every step of the process by babysitting and doing millions of things whenever I asked them to do so.

This dissertation is truly Atlantic: it was written amidst frequent travels between the United States, Spain, and Brazil. The idea of writing on maroons in Northern Brazil came up in Barcelona in the late 1990s, when I learned about Afro-Latin America thanks to Javier Laviña, Miquel Izard, and Luigi Ruíz-Peinado. Luigi provided lots of contacts in Pará when I visited it for the first time in 2004, a research trip that I undertook on my own. He kept doing so for years,

always providing guidance and sharing valuable information about archives and personal contacts. During those years Laviña also encouraged me to pursue post-graduate studies. Gabriela Dalla Corte, Pilar García-Jordán, Miquel Izard, and Meritxell Tous introduced me to the rich and suggestive Latin American historiography, and sociologist Ramón Flecha encouraged me to consider what looked like a crazy idea: entering a PhD program in the U.S.

The crazy idea became a reality, and in 2005 I entered an extraordinary and very stimulating Department of History at the University of Pittsburgh. There I benefitted from the intellectual insight and the excellent environment provided by professors like Reid Andrews, Alejandro de la Fuente, Lara Putnam, Rob Ruck, Van Beck Hall, Bill Chase, Irina Livezeanu, John Markoff, Jerome Branche, John Frechione and many others. I shared thoughts, worries, and laughs with my friends and fellow grad students Kavin Paulraj, Lars Peterson, Jake Pollock, Tasha Kimball, Alejandra Boza, Bayete Henderson, Julien Comte, Kenyon Zimmer, and Niklas Frykman. Matt and Steph Casey walked with me along the road, and Hazel Casey joined us recently. Francis Allard, Adriana Maguiña, Adolfo García, Julia Romero, Mari Felix Cubas, and Russ Maiers were part of my life in Pittsburgh. My advisor, Reid Andrews, provided consistent and dedicated orientation throughout my years at Pitt, and sometimes even more than that. He spent countless hours helping me navigate the difficulties of written English, and very often was a demanding and stimulating advisor who formulated very intelligent questions. Alejandro's help also went beyond simple academic guidance: he was a helpful mentor, a demanding reader, and an excellent dinner guest (although for some reason he did not always appreciate my jokes).

I spent seven months doing research in the city of Belém (Pará, Brazil), during 2009, and many more in previous visits. Local scholars received me warmly, and kindly shared tons of information with me. I am especially grateful to Nilma Bentes and the *turma do CEDENPA*,

Rafael Chambouleyron, José Maia Bezerra Neto, Pere Petit, Fernando Arthur de Freitas Neves, Sara Alonso, and Didier Lahon. We often debated about history and about politics, and had drinks together as members of *O Clube*. They welcomed me into their houses, and, most important, into their lives. Thanks to all of them.

In Vigia, Antônio Igo Palheta Soeiro, Paulo Cordeiro, and Seu Cebola (Ilson Pereira de Mello) were my hosts and accompanied me in my visits to Cacau, Ovos, Santo Antônio do Tauapará, and other black communities. Paulo Cordeiro and I did our research together (his was on *carimbó*), which was an honor and a pleasure. Thanks to the Sociedade 5 de Agosto, and to its board of directors, who very kindly allowed me to work with their wonderful documentary collection even after office hours.

In Santarém, Mary Jane Moreira Silva and the president of the local judiciary granted me access to the Arquivo do Foro, and Ayrton Pereira dos Santos spent countless hours with me there. In Alenquer, Wildson Queiroz and Maria Ilka S. Cabral showed me the city, provided valuable information about it, and introduced me to key persons. João Ubaldo Ribeiro, Áurea Nina, Guilherme Antônio Martins de Araujo (Potyguara), and Marlucy Monteiro from the Toninho Notary (Cartório do Segundo Ofício de Alenquer) granted me access to their personal and institutional archives. In Pacoval, Dona Cruzinha (Maria da Cruz de Assis) had the patience to respond to my innumerable questions and introduced me to many Pacovalenses. Dona Nezi and Zé Maria hosted me in their house as an honored guest. Thanks to them and to all the Pacovalenses I interviewed.

In Óbidos, Dona Idaliana Marinho de Azevedo and Dona Anezia from the Museu Integrado de Óbidos were excellent sources of information about the city's history. Jorge Ary Ferreira of the Ferreira Notary (Cartório do Segundo Ofício de Óbidos) allowed me to use the

impressive, catalogued records of his office. Not far from there, in Oriximiná, Maria de Souza, Hugo de Souza, and all of their family allowed me to live with them, at the same time that they shared some *mocambeiro* oral traditions with me. Many other members of the Associação de Remanescentes de Quilombos do Município de Oriximiná also did so while I was in the city. Carlos Printes agreed to travel with me along the Trombetas. Together we visited Boa Vista, Juary, Tapagem, and Abui, and interviewed members from other communities during the meeting for the creation of the Middle-Trombetas Association of Maroon Descendants. Carlos also admitted me into his house and into the community of Boa Vista, where I always felt at home. In Boa Vista we could even watch the final game of the 2009 Champions League together. FC Barcelona won, of course.

To all my interviewees, guides, hosts, colleagues, professors, and friends, I owe infinite gratitude. Release them from any responsibility for errors or inaccuracies – they are all mine. I can say, and it is not a cliché, that without their help this dissertation would have never been possible.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is about the black peasantry of Amazonia. It traces the conversion of both runaway and plantation slaves into peasants, illuminating the strategies, the obstacles, and the opportunities they encountered when they became independent rural producers after emancipation. These processes have remained so far poorly studied in the literature about Afro-descendants in Amazonia, which consists mostly of studies on marronage and slavery. My goal is to advance both bodies of literature by showing how a black peasantry emerged out of the *quilombos* (maroon communities) and the *senzalas* (slave quarters).

In order to show the necessity of this study we need to go back in time to 1988, when Brazil was leaving behind the dark years of its military dictatorship (1964-1985). In 1988 the Brazilian Constitution established that collective land titles would be granted to *quilombos*, rural communities that descend from former fugitive slaves.¹ This clause (Article 68 of the Transitory Dispositions) was added to the Constitution thanks to the pressure exerted by activists of the black movements, who argued that the centennial of abolition (1888-1988) was the moment to

¹ Article 68 of the Transitory Dispositions (*Ato das Disposições Transitórias*): “Aos remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos que estejam ocupando suas terras, é reconhecida a propriedade definitiva, devendo o Estado emitir-lhes títulos respectivos.” In English, “definitive ownership will be recognized, and the respective title will be issued by the State, to those descendants [*remanescentes*] of the maroon communities occupying their lands.” Available at <http://www.cpisp.org.br/htm/leis/index.html> (accessed May 2011). “*Remanescentes*” has also been translated as remainders, survivors, and remnants, but no expression seems completely accurate. See Jan Hoffman French, “Buried Alive: Imagining Africa in the Brazilian Northeast,” *American Ethnologist* 33, 3 (2006): 355.

compensate those who had resisted slavery.² During the following decade, hundreds of black rural communities all around Brazil claimed to be *remanescentes de quilombos* or maroon-descendants. Current estimates of their total numbers vary: some sources claim that there are as many as 3,000; as of June 2011, exactly 997 communities had initiated the process to obtain official recognition and the subsequent land deed, and another 108 had already received it; 52 of these, almost half, were in the northern state of Pará, Amazonia.³ As a result of their political mobilization, the *quilombos* gradually became the target of public policies at the national and state level. In 2004, for example, the federal Special Secretariat for the Promotion of Racial Equality enacted the Brasil Quilombola program, which coordinates governmental action to speed up the issuing of *quilombo* land deeds, seeks to provide access to basic services, and promotes economic growth among maroon descendants.⁴ In Pará the communities have received land grants totalling 1.4 million acres, many of them in environmentally rich and sensitive areas.⁵ In the last 20 years *quilombo* communities also gained coverage in the media, both Brazilian and international.⁶

² French, "Buried Alive," 341.

³ Total estimate from French, "Buried Alive," 342; and from INCRA, at <http://www.cpisp.org.br/terras/asp/uf.aspx?terra=i> (accessed June 2011), including the Pará data; also Matilde Ribeiro, "O Chamado do Quilombo," *Raça Brasil*, May 2005.

⁴ Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial, *Programa Brasil Quilombola* (Brasília: SEPPIR, 2005), in <http://sistemas.mda.gov.br/aegre/index.php?sccid=587> (accessed May 2011).

⁵ "Comunidades Quilombolas Tituladas," <http://www.iterpa.pa.gov.br/inicio.iterpa>, section "Comunidades Quilombolas" (accessed November 2009).

⁶ Cíntia Borsato, José Edward, "Eles querem desmiscigenar o Brasil," *Veja*, April 4, 2007 (Brazil); James Brooke, 'Brazil Seeks to Return Ancestral Lands to Descendants of Runaway Slaves', *The New York Times*, August 15, 1993; *Folha de São Paulo*, "Demarcações de áreas de quilombos são suspensas," March 10, 2008 (Brazil); Flavio Gomes, "Quilombos no Baixo Tocantins," *O Liberal*, May 5, 1997; Bernardo Gutiérrez, 'Negros con título de propiedad: Descendientes de esclavos negros huidos viven en una de las áreas más intactas y africanas de la Amazonia', *Público*, May 9, 2008 (Spain); Yana Marull, 'Tres millones de descendientes de esclavos viven aún en Brasil en remotas aldeas sin ningún servicio', *El Periódico*, July 14, 2009 (Spain); *Folha de São Paulo*, "São Paulo tem programação especial no Dia da Consciência Negra," *Folha de São Paulo*, November 20, 2006 (Brazil).

During these decades it became increasingly clear that the concept of *quilombo* was changing: Along with descendants of runaways, it now included descendants of slave labor forces residing on abandoned plantations, black communities living on lands donated by ecclesiastical institutions, and rural black communities of all sorts. As it gained prominence in the public sphere, then, a restrictive definition of *quilombo* based on proven runaway slave ancestry gradually gave way to a more flexible and inclusive one. As explained in a publication of the state government of Pará, currently *quilombos* are defined as “self-designated ethno-racial groups who have their own historical trajectory, specific territorial relations, and a presumed black ancestry related to the historical oppression they have suffered.”⁷ However, in order to maintain conceptual accuracy and consistency in this dissertation, the concept of *quilombo*, *mocambo*, or maroon settlement will refer exclusively to the communities created by runaway slaves and their descendants, unless otherwise stated. “Black rural community” or “black peasant community,” on the other hand, will be used in a more inclusive way to designate Afro-descendant groups who formed stable settlements in rural areas once they became free.

In the 1980s academia not only responded to the emergence of a new political subject, it actively collaborated with it. Initially the official recognition of a *quilombo* required the approval of the Brazilian Association of Anthropology (ABA), so in several states research groups including anthropologists, historians, and others were created to prepare reports on the presence of black communities.⁸ In the northeastern state of Maranhão, for example, Project Black Life (*Projeto Vida de Negro*) published a study of rural black communities in 1988 with the support

⁷ Jane Aparecida Marques Malcher and Maria Ataíde, ed., *Territórios Quilombolas* (Belém: ITERPA, 2009), 44; SEPIR, *Programa Brasil Quilombola*, 6. An analysis of the re-conceptualization of quilombo may be found at Alfredo Wagner Berno de Almeida, “Os Quilombos e as Novas Etnias,” in *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica e Territorialidade*, ed. Eliane Cantarino O’Dwyer (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2002).

⁸ This requirement was removed in 2003.

of the Ford Foundation, members of black organizations, human rights advocates, and Professors Edmunda Araújo and Magno Cruz, of the Federal University of Maranhão.⁹ In Pará, during the 1990s the Núcleo de Altos Estudos da Amazônia likewise funded numerous reports about *quilombos* in different areas of the state, namely the Guajarine basin (rivers around the state capital of Belém), the lower Tocantins river, the island of Marajó, and the Lower Amazon region (see Figure 1.1).¹⁰

Generally, these institutionally-funded reports emphasized the ethnicity shared by present-day black communities: forms of collective work, traditions of collective land tenure, and significant oral and cultural narratives related to the experience of slavery. The studies proved that Africans and their descendants shaped the historical geography of Pará and other Brazilian states. Although the reports also attempted to trace historical links with former maroon groups, they were written on tight schedules, so not much research could be conducted. During the 1990s and 2000s, evidence from these studies was used to write a number of monographs on specific areas and communities.¹¹ The monographs, in turn, showed the variety of origins of present-day black peasants, how they employed the subsistence strategies of Amazonian peasantries, and their maintenance of some cultural traditions dating back to the days of slavery.

⁹ Interview with CCNMA activist Ivan Rodrigues Costa, November 4, 2004, São Luís do Maranhão. The final report was re-published in 2002: Centro de Cultura Negra do Maranhão / Sociedade Maranhense de Direitos Humanos, *Terras de Preto no Maranhão: Quebrando o Mito do Isolamento* (São Luís: SMDDHH / CCNM, 2002).

¹⁰ The most complete overview of black communities in Pará is Edna Castro, ed., CD-ROM *Quilombolas do Pará* (Belém: UFPA/NAEA, 2005).

¹¹ “Between 1995 and 1997, seventy-three new books, theses and dissertations, monographs, and articles appeared on the theme” of *quilombos*. Candace Slater, *Entangled Edens: Visions of the Amazon* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002), 268. Rosa Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra: Cadeia de Apropriação e Atores Sociais em Conflito na Ilha de Colares* (Belém: UFPA, 2004); Rosa Acevedo and Edna Castro, *No Caminho das Pedras de Abacatal: Experiência Social de Grupos Negros no Pará* (Belém: UFPA / NAEA, 2004); Wilkler Almeida, *Tauapará* (Vigia, PA: Edição do Autor, 2005); Castro, *Quilombolas do Pará*; Idaliana Marinho de Azevedo, *Puxirum: Memória dos Negros do Oeste Paraense* (Belém: Instituto de Artes do Pará, 2002); José Jorge de Carvalho, ed., *O Quilombo do Rio das Rãs: Histórias, Tradições, Lutas* (Salvador: EDUFBA, 1996); O'Dwyer, *Quilombos*; Benedita Celeste de Moraes Pinto, *Nas Veredas da Sobrevivência: Memória, Gênero e Símbolos de Poder Feminino em Povoados Amazônicos* (Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2004).

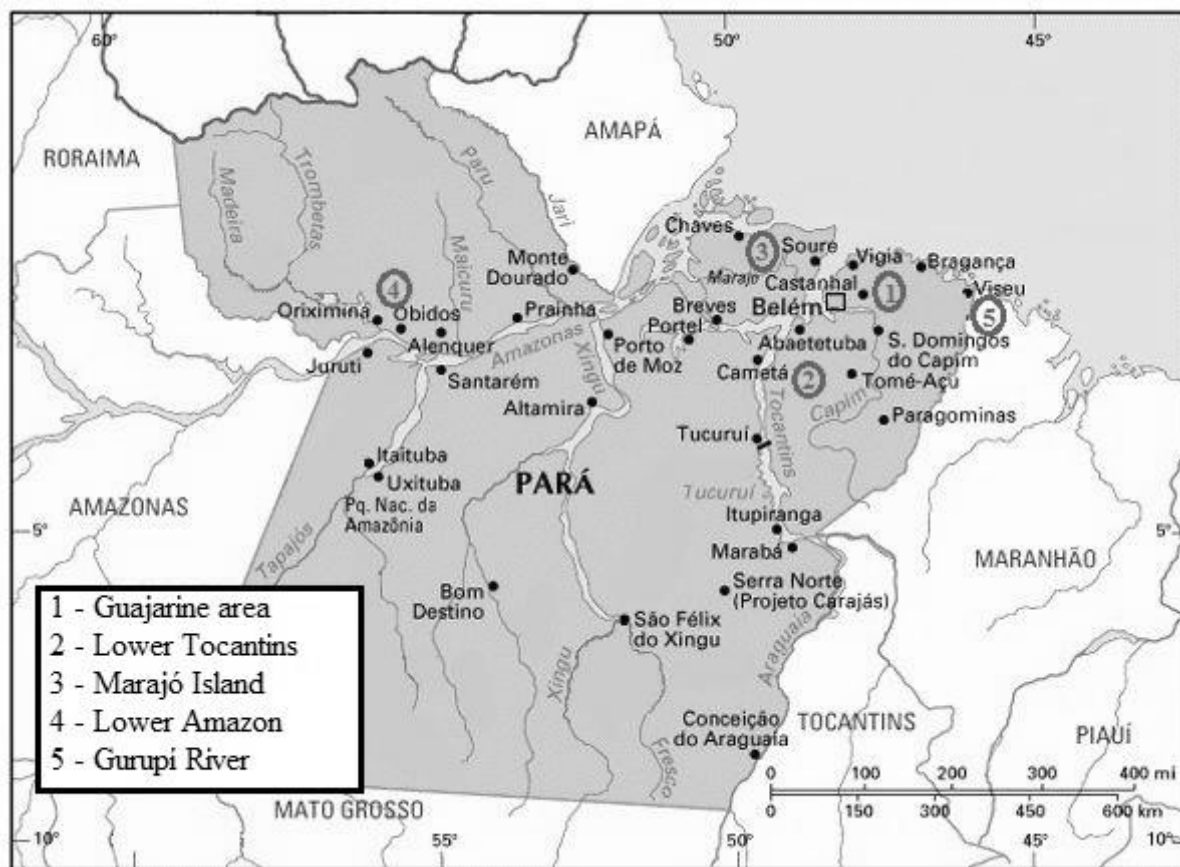


Figure 1.1. Areas with a Significant Historical Presence of Afro-Descendants, Pará (Brazil)

Generally, however, these monographs present static pictures of Afro-descendants in slavery and marronage and then juxtapose them to current black communities: the process through which black farmers adopted a peasant way of life is not shown.¹² The monographs thus resemble the institutional reports in the sense that they present a fair amount of valuable data but do not interrogate the history of black peasants. Sometimes they read like collections of facts about the black communities.

¹² For example Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra*; Acevedo and Castro, *No Caminho das Pedras*; Pinto, *Nas Veredas*.

A number of independent scholars also produced anthropological and historical monographs about specific communities starting in the 1980s. Peter Fry and Carlos Vogt in São Paulo, and José Luis Ruíz-Peinado and Eurípedes Funes in Pará, wrote in-depth studies of specific quilombos that emphasized African cultural persistence (Fry and Vogt) and resistance to slavery (Ruiz-Peinado and Funes). The latter focused on how maroons in the Trombetas river region had used the complicated local topography, along with other defensive strategies, to create free hamlets in the forest, evading forced labor and the slaveholders' attempts at re-capture.¹³

After emancipation, the ex-maroons of the Trombetas river became the victims of Brazil nut merchants, who bought the lands belonging to maroon communities and subjected them to “a new version of slavery.”¹⁴ However, Funes's and Ruiz-Peinado's analysis of the post-slavery period was brief and somewhat schematic. Given that these authors did not conduct much research on those years, they lost sight of the nuances, the evolution, and the contradictory elements that can be found in the maroons' history as free peasants during the early twentieth century. The alliances between Brazil nut merchants and some maroons, and the strategies of pilfering and resistance to the merchants' grip over land, were largely ignored in their works.

¹³ Expression from Eurípedes Funes, "Nasci nas Matas, Nunca Tive Senhor": História e Memória dos Mocambos do Baixo Amazonas" (PhD Dissertation, FFLCH / USP, 1995); José Luis Ruíz-Peinado, *Cimarronaje en Brasil: Mocambos del Trombetas* (Valencia, Spain: El Cep i la Nansa, 2003). Later works from both authors on the same topics include Eurípedes A. Funes, "Mocambos do Trombetas: Memória e Etnicidade (Séculos XIX e XX)," in *Os Senhores dos Rios: Amazônia, Margens e Histórias*, ed. Mary Del Priore, and Flávio Gomes (Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2003); José Luis Ruiz-Peinado, "Amazonía Negra," in *La Amazonía Brasileña en Perspectiva Histórica*, ed. José Manuel Santos Pérez and Pere Petit (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006); Ruíz-Peinado, "Ilustración y Revolución en la Amazonia Brasileña," (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2008); Nilma Bentes and José Luis Ruíz-Peinado, "Organitzacions Socials al Brasil: El Moviment Negre," *L'Avenç* 286 (2003); Javier Laviña and José Luis Ruíz-Peinado, *Resistencias Esclavas en las Américas* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 2006); Ruiz-Peinado, "Tiempos Afroindígenas en la Amazonia: Primera Mitad del Siglo XIX," *Revista de Indias* LXX, 249 (2010); Ruíz-Peinado and Cristina Larrea, "Memoria y Territorio Quilombola en Brasil," *Quaderns de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia* 20 (2004); Ruíz-Peinado, "Misioneros en el Río Trombetas: La Subida del Padre Carmelo de Mazzarino," *Boletín Americanista* 54 (2004).

¹⁴ Ruíz-Peinado, *Cimarronaje en Brasil*, 160.

The conflicts of the period were interpreted as one more chapter in the maroons' traditional struggle for land.¹⁵ However, I will argue in this dissertation that the post-abolition decades should not be analyzed as a simple appendix of the years under slavery. Instead, former maroons developed new projects, new strategies, and new ideas as free peasants, as will soon be shown.

A different corpus of literature studying the history of Afro-descendants in Pará sprouted from Brazilian studies on slavery. Paraense folklorist Vicente Salles collaborated during the 1960s and 1970s with Edison Carneiro, the author of multiple books on Afro-Brazil, including one of the classics on Palmares, *O Quilombo dos Palmares*.¹⁶ In 1971, influenced by Carneiro's work on popular and Afro-descendant culture and folklore, Salles wrote *O Negro no Pará sob o Regime da Escravidão*, with the goal of showing that Africans had played a role in the formation of Amazonia, contrary to common wisdom.¹⁷ Drawing on extensive collections of sources, *O Negro no Pará* succeeded in showing that Africans had not only been present in Pará – they had impacted its economy, its culture, its ethnic composition, and in sum, its history. However, the fact that most historians often ignore the Amazon in their supposed syntheses of Brazilian history prevented Salles's work from becoming more popular. Another pioneering work was Anaiza Vergolino-Henry and Arthur Figueiredo's *A Presença Africana na Amazônia Colonial*, which reproduced a large body of sources about the slave trade to the Amazon in the late colonial period.¹⁸ In the same vein, Ciro Cardoso had compared in 1984 the evolution of late colonial

¹⁵ Funes, "Nasci nas Matas", 265-274; Ruíz-Peinado, *Cimarronaje en Brasil*, 159-160.

¹⁶ Edison Carneiro, *O Quilombo dos Palmares* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1958).

¹⁷ Vicente Salles, *O Negro no Pará Sob o Regime da Escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas-Universidade Federal do Pará, 1971).

¹⁸ Anaiza Vergolino-Henry and Arthur Napoleão Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana na Amazônia Colonial: Uma Notícia Histórica* (Belém: Arquivo Público do Pará, 1990).

Pará and that of French Guiana, arguing that the economic systems of these two colonies eventually converged thanks to the import of African slaves to the Amazon in those decades.¹⁹

More recently a younger generation of scholars has renewed studies about Africans in the Amazon, plugging them into international research concerns. The best known are Flávio Gomes and José Maia Bezerra Neto. The latter produced a modern version of Salles's synthesis, although he left behind the culturalist perspective to focus exclusively on slavery.²⁰ He also studied urban slavery, emphasizing the networks of work and solidarity created by Afro-descendants in the cities, and recently completed his PhD dissertation on abolitionism in Pará.²¹ However, his work has not yet covered the post-emancipation period.

Flávio Gomes has also contributed substantially to our knowledge of black peasants in the Amazon. First and foremost, through his study of Amazonian *quilombos* in late colonial Grão-Pará he pioneered the analysis of the *campos negros* or "black fields": the "complex economic, social, and political relations" of maroons with the broader society.²² By bringing to Brazil questions and topics drawn from the post-emancipation literature in the United States and the Caribbean, such as the internal economy of slavery, the formation of reconstituted black peasantries, and the role of black farmers in post-emancipation conflicts over land and labor,

¹⁹ Ciro Flamarion S. Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade em Áreas Coloniais Periféricas: Guiana Francesa e Pará, 1750-1817* (Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1984).

²⁰ The ethnicity of African slaves is present in his study, however. José Maia Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará: Sécs. XVII-XIX* (Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2001). See also Bezerra Neto, "Escravidão e Crescimento Econômico no Pará (1850-1888)," in *Seminário: Fazenda, Alfândega e Tesouro no Pará* (Belém do Pará: 2008).

²¹ José Maia Bezerra Neto, "Histórias Urbanas de Liberdade: Escravos em Fuga na Cidade de Belém, 1860-1888," *Afro-Ásia* 28 (2002); Bezerra Neto, "Por Todos os Meios Legítimos e Legais: As Lutas contra a Escravidão e os Limites da Abolição (Brasil, Grão-Pará: 1850-1888)" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2009).

²² Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos: Mocambos, Quilombos e Comunidades de Fugitivos no Brasil (Séculos XVII – XIX)* (São Paulo: UNESP, 2005), 32. In the introduction to the important collection of essays on Brazilian quilombos that he edited with João José Reis, both authors analyze very well the evolution of the historiography on marronage. João José Reis and Flávio Gomes, "Uma História de Liberdade," in *Liberdade por um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil*, ed. João José Reis and Flávio Gomes (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996).

Gomes raised the study of marronage to a new level.²³ Early in the 2000s, for example, he set out to show how “the articulation of *mocambos* (and later the communities that originated from them) with other economic sectors resulted in settlements/villages, farmer markets and places of barter.”²⁴ He pointed to fundamental issues, for example the relation between provision grounds and nascent local markets, or the reliance of Amazonian peasants on the collection of forest goods. However, the formation of a black peasantry out of groups of maroons and slaves remained surprisingly vague in his works:²⁵ he did not show the productive and social strategies of former maroons and slaves when they joined the ranks of free peasants, or what challenges they found along the way. Gomes posed interesting questions, but he left them largely unanswered.

In the last twenty years a concern with the agency and the strategies of popular groups has guided analyses of the post-emancipation period in the Americas. Scholars have focused on how ex-slaves confronted “the exclusions built up around dominant notions of citizenship.”²⁶ how ex-slaves claimed property they had acquired as bondsmen, engaged in labor mobilizations,

²³ Three prominent examples of the themes that influenced Gomes are Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas* (London: Frank Cass, 1991); Sidney W. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations* (New York: Columbia University Press 1989); and Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). These topics were also being applied to other areas of Brasil: Hebe Maria Mattos, *Das Cores do Silêncio: Os Significados da Liberdade no Sudeste Escravista* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998).

²⁴ Flavio dos Santos Gomes, "Slavery, Black Peasants, and Post-Emancipation Society in Brazil (Nineteenth Century Rio De Janeiro)," *Social Identities* 10 (2004): 748.

²⁵ Flavio dos Santos Gomes and Sabina Gledhill, "'A Safe Haven:' Runaway Slaves, Mocambos, and Borders in Colonial Amazonia, Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, 3 (2002); Gomes, "Slavery, Black Peasants, and Post-Emancipation Society in Brazil;" Flavio dos Santos Gomes, "Etnicidade e Fronteiras Cruzadas nas Guianas (Sécs. XVIII-XX)," *Estudios Afroamericanos Virtual* 2 (2004). In "Slavery, Black Peasants, and Post-Emancipation Society," for example, Gomes does show the importance of the slaves' internal economy, but the maroons' contribution to agriculture in the region is only indicated.

²⁶ Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 23.

or refused to be excluded from politics along racial lines.²⁷ In Brazil, three elements have been emphasized concerning the freedpeople who chose to become peasants. First and foremost, they adhered to a triad of values consisting of controlling their own labor, maintaining family structures (often formed under slavery), and having access to land. As stated in a study of the post-emancipation period in São Paulo, “finding and keeping a space for a small farm, with its possibilities of family work, production, a relative independence, and all the subsequent dimensions of personal realization, was a constant ambition.”²⁸ Second, while ex-slaves often “stayed on the plantations where they had worked as slaves,” they “did not accept to work under the same terms as under slavery.”²⁹ It is necessary, then, to pay attention to the labor negotiations that took place in former plantations, because they constituted an important arena for the definition of the rights of citizenship brought by freedom.

However, current research on the post-emancipation period also reminds us that “the meanings of freedom must be sought in a whole sequence of particular historical and social

²⁷ George Reid Andrews, *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Jean Besson, *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 2002); O. Nigel Bolland, ed., *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America* (Belize: Angelus Press, 1997); Cooper, Holt, and Scott, *Beyond Slavery*; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Olívia Maria da Cunha, e Flávio dos Santos Gomes, ed., *Quase-Cidadão: Histórias e Antropologias da Pós-Emancipação no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2007); Alejandro de la Fuente, *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Elione Silva Guimarães, *Múltiplos Viveres de Afrodescendentes na Escravidão e no Pós-Emancipação: Família, Trabalho, Terra e Conflito* (Juiz De Fora - MG, 1828-1928) (São Paulo / Juiz de Fora: Annablume / Funalfa Edições 2006); Mary Ann Mahony, "Afro-Brazilians, Land Reform, and the Question of Social Mobility in Southern Bahia, 1880-1920," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, 2 (1997); Mattos, *Das Cores do Silêncio*; Ana Lugão Rios and Hebe Mattos, *Memórias do Cativo: Família, Trabalho e Cidadania no Pós-Abolição* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2005); Nancy Naro, *A Slave's Place, a Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000); Dylan C. Penningroth, "The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison," *The American Historical Review* 12, 4 (2007); Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Rebecca Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press 2005).

²⁸ Rios e Mattos, *Memórias do Cativo*, 243. See also Bolland, "Politics of Freedom," 190.

²⁹ Guimarães, *Múltiplos Viveres*, 309; Iacy Maia Mata, "'Libertos de Treze de Maio' e Ex-Senhores na Bahia: Conflitos no Pós-Abolição," *Afro-Ásia* 35 (2007): 173.

contexts.”³⁰ Hence the necessity to adapt some of the arguments mentioned above to the specific context of Amazonia. For example, since Amazon peasants employed subsistence strategies different from those in other areas, it is reasonable to think that the ex-slaves’ strategies will also be different to those of freedpeople in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Bahia. Amazonian peasants have been described as “settled cultivators of land (which may or may not be titled, more often the latter) who are also extractivists (terrestrial and aquatic foci) and who may also engage in other livelihoods (drivers, artisans) including wage-labour.”³¹ Collecting forest products is a unique feature of this peasantry, but of even more importance is the variety of occupations its members pursue, also called “portfolio strategies.”³² When we think about how a black peasantry was formed in Amazonia, then, we should respond to at least two questions. When and how did Amazon slaves adopt such strategies? And to what extent did the local ways of the peasantry favor or hinder the slaves’ search for autonomy, family, and land?

³⁰ Cooper, Holt, and Scott, *Beyond Slavery*, 9.

³¹ Stephen Nugent, "Whither o Campesinato? Historical Peasantries of Brazilian Amazonia," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 29, 3 (2002): 174.

³² The expression is from Susanna B. Hecht, "Factories, Forests, Fields and Family: Gender and Neoliberalism in Extractive Reserves," *Journal of Agrarian Change* 7, 3 (2007): 342. Useful studies on the Amazon peasantry are Robin Anderson, "Following Curupira: Colonization and Migration in Pará, 1758 to 1930 as a Study in Settlement of the Humid Tropics" (University of California, Davis, 1976); João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho, "O Caboclo e o Brabo: Notas sobre Duas Modalidades de Força-de-Trabalho na Expansão da Fronteira Amazônica no Século XIX," *Civilização Brasileira* (1979); Mark Harris, *Life on the Amazon: The Anthropology of a Peasant Village* (London: British Academy, 2001); Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840* (Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Jean Hébert, Maria Cristina Maneschy, and Sônia Barbosa Magalhães, eds., *No Mar, nos Rios e na Fronteira: Faces do Campesinato no Pará* (Belém: UFPA, 2002); Octavio Ianni, *A Luta pela Terra: História Social da Terra e da Luta Pela Terra numa Área da Amazônia* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978); Maria Angélica Motta-Maués, "Trabalhadeiras" e "Camarados:" *Relações de Gênero, Simbolismo e Ritualização numa Comunidade Amazônica* (Belém: UFPA, 1993); Stephen Nugent, *Amazonian Caboclo Society: An Essay on Invisibility and Peasant Economy* (Providence, RI: Berg, 1993); Nugent, "Whither o Campesinato?"; Eugene P. Parker, ed., *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, 32, *Studies in Third World Societies* (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985); Eric B. Ross, "The Evolution of the Amazon Peasantry," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 10, 2 (1978); Charles Wagley, *Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964).

In the second place, while in Southern Brazil or in the Northeast many ex-slaves had to negotiate the terms of their freedom with coffee, cacao, and sugar planters, in Pará the production of plantation-based export crops largely faded away after the abolition of slavery (1888), when many planters gradually abandoned their rural estates or converted them into farms producing food crops for local markets. At first glance, the migration of capital out of the plantation sector and the semi-abandonment of the region seemed to favor freedpeople's prospects for achieving a larger degree of autonomy. However, this process needs to be analyzed and documented more closely. How exactly did labor relations change following emancipation? How did those changes affect the relationship between slave-descendants and the lands they occupied? And what were the limits and the consequences of these changes?

The ex-slaves who had formed part of maroon communities confronted different challenges. After the wave of armed repression of *quilombos* that unfolded in the 1850s (discussed on Chapter 2), most *quilombos* tended to be in thinly populated peripheral areas, such as the Gurupi river, Amapá, or the Lower Amazon (Figure 1.1). The labor relations in which they participated after emancipation were varied: collecting Brazil nuts in the Lower Amazon, mining gold on the Gurupi river, and other activities in Amapá. The collection of Brazil nuts in particular was based on labor relations and patterns of land use that were different to those of agricultural activities. How did this extractive economy favor or hamper the maroons' prospects for autonomy? How did disputes over land, labor, and resources develop in this context?

As a consequence of the different composition of the elite, patron-client relations in rural Amazonia after abolition also look different to what can be found in other Brazilian regions. Since export merchants (and not planters or industrialists) often accumulated a substantial amount of political and economic power, especially in areas with extractive products, the type of

domination that they exerted, their participation in relations of clientage, and the degree of conflict among newly emerged and competitive merchants, all parlayed into specific modes of class domination, resistance, and accommodation. How did merchants' control over the distribution of trade goods shape labor struggles? Did local workers' direct access to a valuable commodity (Brazil nuts) strengthen their bargaining position against the merchants? To what degree were workers also able to exploit competitive conflicts among local elites?

These questions will be discussed using evidence from different archives in the Brazilian state of Pará, the Amazonian state that received the most African slaves by far. It concentrated slave imports between the second half of the eighteenth century and the 1820s, when the last registered slave ships delivered their human cargo in the port city of Belém. Some of those bondsmen (we do not know how many) went to Amapá, north of the Amazon river mouth, a territory present in my analysis of marronage and slavery during the years of the slave trade. The present-day state of Amazonas received a few hundred slaves, who had a very low impact on the local economy; more peripheral regions of Amazonia (Rondônia, Roraima, Acre) barely received any. The main focus, then, will be on the state of Pará, although most arguments on struggles over land, labor, and resources in old plantation areas and extractive frontiers can be applied to other regions in Amazonia.

The two processes that this study covers determine its chronological scope. African and creole slaves underwent a process of "peasantization" or "caboclization" (adoption of the cultural and economic habits of the Amazon peasantry) that became very visible when the plantation sector of the economy was reconstructed, in the 1850s, and ended with the abolition of slavery, in 1888. In the Lower Amazon the maroon communities' incorporation to Brazilian society as

lawful citizens started in the 1870s, when some of their settlements were visited by travelers and by missionaries sent to negotiate the maroons' surrender.

The post-emancipation period is always a slippery concept. In this case, I have privileged the study of the first half of the twentieth century up to the 1960s, because during those decades local forces largely determined the outcomes of struggles over land, labor, and resources. International forces such as the demand for local goods and the arrival of migrants obviously played a role during these years, but beginning in the 1960s, the large-scale involvement of the federal government and the inflows of national and international capital altered the region to an unprecedented degree. The post-1960 story of the region must be the subject of a separate research project.

1.1 STRUCTURE

To summarize what has been said so far, three big research questions will guide my inquiry into the transition to, and the characteristics of, post-slavery freedom in Amazonia. First, what were the main forces behind the transformation of slaves and maroons into peasants? Second, what ideas and strategies did black peasants adopt after emancipation? And third, what opportunities and challenges did they encounter in that period?

I will start by analyzing the origins of African slavery in the Amazon, to be found in the reforms carried out by the Marquis of Pombal in the colonial state of Maranhão and Grão-Pará. From the very beginning, African slaves formed maroon communities in a process of cultural

exchange with Amazon Indians, who were also suffering the yoke of colonial exploitation. The runaways used the vast and intricate waterways of the region to communicate among themselves and with others, which made it very difficult for the authorities to combat them. This is also why local maroons played important roles at specific moments (the invasion of French Guiana during the French Revolution, for example, or the Cabanagem revolt of the 1830s). Ultimately, however, increased revenues from economic recovery in the 1850s allowed the elite of Pará to fund a large-scale war against *mocambos*, mostly confining them to peripheral areas.

Chapter Three analyzes how some *mocambos* evolved in the Trombetas river (Lower Amazon region) in the second half of the 1800s and early 1900s. They used the channels of information and clandestine trade that had allowed them to survive as maroons to approach the national society in a gradual process that started in the 1870s, and in which Catholic missionaries also played a role. By analyzing their patterns of settlement, kinship networks, and economic activities, I show how they sought to maintain an autonomous peasant life.

Chapter Four examines the characteristics of the plantation sector and argues that it played an important role in the recovery of Pará's economy between 1850 and 1870. The chapter also analyzes the forces shaping the transition to freedom, focusing on the process of peasantization. At the same time, changes external to the plantation economy, such as the gradual abandonment of plantations, the rise of the rubber economy, and the gradual abolition of slavery, will also be taken into account.

The micro-history of a black rural community that emerged out of the ashes of a sugar plantation is the focus of Chapter Five. The approach will also be different, disaggregating this process into the creation of new spaces of work, leisure, and residence, on one hand, and the gradual creation of a narrative of belonging to the land, on the other. Black peasants in that

region even went to court to defend their gradual appropriation of the land, even though in Brazilian historiography it is usually argued that peasants were virtually defenseless facing the landlords' purchase of smallholders' lands.

Chapter Six returns to the Trombetas, where in the early decades of the 1900s Brazil nuts became the principal commodity traded by local commercial houses. Here I analyze in detail labor relations between maroon-descendants and merchants, showing the strategies that the latter used to subject the *mocambeiros* to debt peonage. The *mocambeiros*, however, did not accept this situation passively and in turn employed their own tactics to escape subjection. Some of them even succeeded in becoming power brokers between both groups.

In addition to individual strategies of resistance to debt bondage, the maroons sometimes participated in collective protest, which erupted in the 1920s with considerable intensity in the Lower Amazon region. Chapter Seven examines those movements, and responses to them by Paraense elites and policymakers. Finally, the unsuccessful attempts made by appointed Provincial Interventor Magalhães Barata to change the conditions of Brazil nut production in the lower Amazon are briefly discussed, along with the reasons why these attempts failed.

2.0 THE ORIGINS OF AFRICAN SLAVERY AND MARRONAGE IN THE AMAZON, 1750-C.1850

It is common wisdom among Latin Americanist historians that the Amazon was throughout the colonial and early national period a region whose economy consisted of extracting backland drugs or *drogas do sertão*. However, during the second half of the 1700s the heightened rivalry among Atlantic empires led Portuguese imperial policymakers to subsidize the arrival of enslaved Africans to the Amazon with the intent of developing its apparently promising plantation agriculture. Despite the turbulence of the Revolutionary era, plantation agriculture did develop in the rivers around the captaincy's capital city of Belém and in the region of the Lower Amazon. Elite farmers and cattle-ranchers who had previously competed with the colonial Government and the missionaries for access to Indian labor now became cacao, rice, cotton, and sugar planters reigning over vast landholdings and ethnically mixed labor forces.

The forced incorporation of Africans into the Amazon's economy was but one more step in a history of oppression and exploitation that had characterized colonial projects from the arrival of the first Portuguese colonists in the early seventeenth century. Be it in the form of indigenous slavery until 1680, under the guise of royal grants of indigenous workers to colonists, or under the domination of the Catholic missionary orders, coercive labor always lay at

the very core of social and ethnic relations in the region. The imposition of forced labor was met with rejection and flight by members of all ethnic groups. Amerindians who survived slavery and epidemics were the first to flee, re-constituting their hamlets in the forests. Military deserters, mixed-race peasants, and runaway African slaves, joined them in forming and defending maroon communities.

The communities formed by runaway slaves and Indians were never isolated from the broader society. Instead, different types of networks were fundamental for them: networks of relationships with indigenous groups to adapt to the local environment and learn its possibilities; information networks to be aware of events in the broader Atlantic world and the regional society; and commercial networks with local merchants to market forest products and subsistence crops. This chapter will show how maroons used these different kinds of networks, employing them as a fundamental strategy. While in other areas of the Americas these channels were equally important for the survival of maroon settlements, the intricate network of waterways, and the activities of autonomous, long-distance retail merchants, who traded with forbidden clients like maroons or Directorate Indians, facilitated the formation of communities of runaways in Amazonia. In addition to explaining how local *mocambos* operated during the 1800s, this analysis will also help us understand why after the abolition of slavery in 1888 market-oriented strategies became a fundamental way of improving the maroons' material status.

2.1 REFORMULATING THE INDIAN'S ROLE

In 1750, the coronation of José I as king of Portugal brought diplomat Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, Count of Oeiras and Marquis of Pombal, to the forefront of imperial policy. Inspired by French and British Enlightenment ideas on trade, diplomacy, and politics, Melo promoted profound changes in the way that Portugal managed its ultramarine possessions.¹ Governmental supervision by the Crown would be strengthened; military structures would be improved to resist emerging imperial Atlantic powers; and the economy would be developed through diverse mechanisms like monopoly commercial companies and the official promotion of agriculture and trade.²

With the intent of populating and securing the Amazon, Pombal implemented a new system of civil administration over the Indian population, now to be assimilated into Western religion, culture, and a market-oriented mentality. Portugal could not send enough colonists to populate the vast Amazon basin, so the Marquis turned to the only available source of population: the nearly 30,000 Indians who lived in villages controlled by missionary orders like

¹ Kenneth Maxwell, *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 88-90, 118-119; José Damião Rodrigues, "'Para o Socego e Tranquilidade Publica das Ilhas:' Fundamentos, Ambição e Limites das Reformas Pombalinas nos Açores," *Tempo* 11, 21 (2006): 149.

² Robin Anderson, "Following Curupira: Colonization and Migration in Pará, 1758 to 1930 as a Study in Settlement of the Humid Tropics" (University of California, Davis, 1976); Ciro Flamarion S. Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade em Áreas Coloniais Periféricas, Guiana Francesa e Pará, 1750-1817* (Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1984); Colin MacLachlan, "African Slave Trade and Economic Development in Amazonia," in *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, ed. Robert B. Toplin (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974); Barbara A. Sommer, "Cracking Down on the *Cunhamenas*: Renegade Amazonian Traders under Pombaline Reforms," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38 (2006).

the Jesuits, the Carmelites, and the Mercedarians.³ He was likewise concerned with the temporal power of these orders, specially the Jesuits, which he considered a threat to imperial authority and a corporate structure opposed to the absolute control of the Crown.⁴ Therefore, in 1757 Pombal established the Directorate, a new institution of governmental and civilian supervision of the Indians, and decreed the Jesuits' expulsion from the State of Maranhão.⁵

The Directorate's mission was to transform forest Indians into Portuguese yeomen. They would be introduced to Portuguese language, dress, and religion through school education and direct contact with Portuguese and Creole colonists. The Crown would grant special licenses for individuals to re-settle Indians from their hamlets to Directorate villages, as it had long been done, but now under tighter control to avoid abuse and outright enslavement. Marriage between Indians and white colonists was encouraged with material incentives, in what constituted an innovative racial and ethnic project based on state-sponsored racial mixture.⁶ Pombal envisioned "the conquerors living with the conquered in the union of civil society, observing the same laws, in one single body without any distinction."⁷ In the "opulent and completely happy state"⁸ that would result, the missions would be converted into Indian villages where a director would guide and coordinate the decisions taken by municipal officers. The director was expected to oversee

³ Colin MacLachlan, "The Indian Directorate: Forced Acculturation in Portuguese America (1757-1799)," *The Americas* 28, 4 (1972): 358; Sommer, "Cracking Down on the *Cunhamenas*," 778.

⁴ Eugene Parker, "The Amazon Caboclo: An Introduction and Overview," in *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Eugene P. Parker (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985), 23-25; Rodrigues, "Para o Socego e Tranquilidade Publica das Ilhas," 155, 166.

⁵ Until 1822 the State of Maranhão was separate from Brazil, and included the present day states of Amazonas, Pará, Roraima, Rondônia, Amapá, and Maranhão. On the Directorate, see John Hemming, *Amazon Frontier: The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians* (London: Macmillan London, 1987), 11-19, 43-60. A complete copy can be found at Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira E Silva, *Corografia Paraense, ou Descrição Física, Historica, e Politica, da Provincia do Gram-Pará* (Bahia: Typographia do Diario, 1833), 78-112.

⁶ Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*, 145. Such a project was only paralleled by Gaspar Rodríguez Francia's policy of forced racial mixture in early independent Paraguay. Neill Macaulay and David Bushnell, *El Nacimiento de los Países Latinoamericanos* (Madrid: Nerea, 1989), 146.

⁷ Sommer, "Cracking Down on the *Cunhamenas*," 778.

⁸ Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 16.

the process of trans-culturation and to increase production, channeling the surplus of agricultural and forest goods to a special Indian treasury created in Belém.

The Directorate included a draconian regime of forced labor as a mechanism of trans-culturation. Since another goal of the system was transforming the Indians into self-motivated wage earners and consumers, the newly appointed directors of the Indian villages were responsible for luring them into the market economy through a mixture of coercion and reward. At least half the village Indians would work for employers in exchange for a salary, often in trade goods. The other half were expected to perform different tasks, such as cultivating manioc and other crops like maize, coffee, and cotton in the villages. Another task was participating in expeditions to collect forest products: wild cacao, sarsaparilla, Brazil nuts, clove-like cravo, and others. In exchange for participating on these months-long expeditions traveling hundreds of miles away from home, they would be paid a percentage of the expedition's profit, usually in cloth. Finally, Directorate Indians were also obliged to work in state-run activities, like ship-building, wood-cutting, construction of public facilities, military service, and demarcation and discovery expeditions.⁹

The Directorate was "a labyrinth" in itself, according to the report written by local magistrate Antonio José Pestana da Silva in 1788,¹⁰ but its application was even more complicated. Instead of guiding the process, "the directors determine absolutely everything ... they become superintendants and hated masters of all government and all interests." "They build private jails to tie the miserable Indians to stakes, where the latter are mistreated with painful

⁹ Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 10-17; MacLachlan, "The Indian Directorate," 358-371.

¹⁰ Antonio José Pestana da Silva, "Meios de Dirigir o Governo Temporal dos Índios," in *Corographia Historica, Chronographica, Genealogica, Nobiliaria, e Política do Imperio do Brasil*, ed. Antonio José de Mello Moraes (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Brasileira, 1860), 144.

beatings, even with sticks, causing many Indians to flee, no one knows where.”¹¹ Abuse was frequent, as most positions of village director were filled with low-ranking military officers who ruthlessly exploited the Indians.¹² For them, as for Portuguese and Creole colonists in general, Indians meant little more than free, expendable labor that naturally tended towards vagrancy, flight, ostracism and frequently death. In 1788 Portuguese Archbishop Frei Caetano Brandão made reference to traditional beliefs about the Indians: “Experience has shown that thrashing is the most convenient and appropriate punishment for Indians. All who live and deal with them know that a punishment of only forty strokes is recommended – this is what missionaries customarily give.”¹³ However, the violence suffered by Amerindians under the Directorate had many facets, as magistrate Pestana da Silva discussed in his lucid report:

Is it not violence when an Indian working his own crops is forced to leave in order to serve a colonist who has a grant from the governor? Is it not violence when an Indian leaves the shelter of his poor home, the support of his wife and children, to go navigate remote rivers, fish, build outposts, and go to the backlands, for the benefit of a colonist who has a grant from the governor? Is it not violence when a colonist has a grant consisting of two, three, or more Indians, and he believes that he can abuse [their] humanity, beating them cruelly, leaving them hungry and without assistance, loading them with work all day and into the night, knowing that the Indian cannot leave, for he is a prisoner of the governmental grant?¹⁴

Disease, overwork, forced geographic mobility, and widespread abuse of Indian labor caused a high rate of mortality and the destruction of social bonds inside the Indian villages. In 1773, Governor João Pereira Caldas explained to Manoel Bernardo de Mello e Castro how “the work at

¹¹ Da Silva, "Meios de Dirigir," 135-136.

¹² MacLachlan, "The Indian Directorate," 370; Eugene Parker, "Caboclization: The Transformation of the Amerindian in Amazonia 1615-1800," in *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Eugene P. Parker (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985), 27.

¹³ Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 45.

¹⁴ Da Silva, "Meios de Dirigir," 149.

Macapá and other infinite and heavy services ... and the repeated expeditions to Minas Gerais have completely ruined the villages.”¹⁵

Despite the havoc wrought by the Directorate, the Kaxuyanas, Aparai, Tacunapés, and other tribes living in the villages made use of the few mechanisms they had at their disposal to shape the process of cultural and social change. As recent research has shown, while large numbers of Indians could not stand the draconian conditions of the villages, others engaged in collecting expeditions voluntarily and used their skills to alter them. Because some Indians in the expedition crews were often the main experts in determining what could be collected and where, they could attain considerable leverage.¹⁶

Material profit and the consumption of marketable goods proved to be a powerful mechanism of trans-culturation. While some Indians pursued economic progress in collecting expeditions, others decided to extract the *backland drugs* and commercialize them by establishing themselves along the region's rivers, or to collaborate with the *comissários volantes*, a growing body of itinerant merchants who roamed the rivers bartering manufactured and other items for cash crops. The famous *regatões* or independent itinerant merchants so typical in the Amazon became common in this period.¹⁷ The Indians could also work for colonists who offered higher wages, thus exploiting the scarcity of labor in the area to their own advantage. Large numbers of Indians fled the villages and settled in the outskirts of Belém with this intent, gradually enlarging the mixed-race population and feeding the growth of the total population of

¹⁵ João Pereira Caldas to Manoel Bernardo de Mello e Castro, Belém, 7 March 1773, quoted in Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 46.

¹⁶ Heather Flynn Roller, "Colonial Collecting Expeditions and the Pursuit of Opportunities in the Amazonian Sertão, C. 1750-1800," *The Americas* 66, 4 (2010).

¹⁷ Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*, 189; José Alipio Goulart, *O Regatão (Mascate Fluvial da Amazônia)* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1968); MacLachlan, "The Indian Directorate," 377; Parker, "Cabocclization," 31.

Pará from 33,565 individuals in 1765, to 65,000 in 1798, to 94,120 in 1816.¹⁸ Becoming commodity producers or wage workers and gradually sharing more habits and spaces with colonists of European descent had enormous consequences: the Indians' participation in market relations was transforming them into *caboclos* (mixed-race Amazon peasants). The Directorate, in other words, succeeded in incorporating a significant number of Indians to the Western market economy – although at a high cost in terms of human lives and culture.¹⁹

A common response to the hardships of the Directorate was flight and desertion from the villages, “not only of individuals, but often whole families, and even entire towns.”²⁰ If in 1755 about 30,000 Indians lived in Directorate villages, in 1798 this number had dropped to 19,000, reflecting the impact of epidemics and flight.²¹ Though flight had been frequent before the Directorate, it was now described using a different word. In 1785 the governor of Pará reported that in Ega, present-day state of Amazonas, the Mura Indians had their own “mocambo.” In 1786 the same expression was used to report that a hamlet of runaway Indians existed near Santarém, and in 1788 local justice Pestana da Silva argued that Indians were “entering the forest and building residences that they call *amocabados* [amucambados], according to the local expression.”²² *Mocambo* was a synonym of *quilombo* or maroon, a word that in Brazil

¹⁸ Anderson, “Following Curupira”, 250; Flavio dos Santos Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos: Mocambos, Quilombos e Comunidades de Fugitivos no Brasil (Séculos XVII – XIX)* (São Paulo: UNESP, 2005), 48. Enslaved Africans, who were being introduced to the region in significant numbers, also contributed to demographic growth in this period.

¹⁹ MacLachlan, “The Indian Directorate,” 386; Parker, “Caboclization,” 33-34.

²⁰ Anderson, “Following Curupira,” 129; Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 55-56; MacLachlan, “The Indian Directorate,” 378; Colin MacLachlan, “The Indian Labor Structure in the Portuguese Amazon, 1700-1800,” in *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil*, ed. Dauril Alden (Berkeley University of California Press, 1973), 220; Parker, “Caboclization,” 35.

²¹ Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 57.

²² Martinho de Mello e Castro to Martinho de Souza e Albuquerque, April 2nd, 1785, in Flavio Gomes, Jonas Marçal de Queiroz, and Mauro César Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras: Fontes para a História da Amazônia* (Belém: UFPA / NAEA, 1999), 19; Letter from September 2nd, Santarém, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 67; Da Silva, “Meios de Dirigir,” 139.

designated settlements of runaway African slaves.²³ The transplantation of this expression to signify the same reality across different ethnic groups was not random. Rather, it speaks of a shared social reality that materialized when African slaves began to enter the Amazon.

2.2 IMPORTING AFRICAN SLAVES

The Marquis of Pombal not only altered the role of Indians in the Amazon, he also devised a monopoly trading company to import enslaved African labor into the region. This would permit, he thought, to “cultivate the land and multiply its fruits until they become abundant,” or in other words, to develop a plantation economy.²⁴ This concern was not new: in response to the demand for African slaves, between 1680 and 1702 the Crown had signed at least 11 contracts with private merchants and royal companies, eventually bringing approximately 2,000 slaves to the region.²⁵ This was a very small number in relation to the total number of slaves brought to Brazil, although significant given the small population of Paraense cities in the period.

In 1752, aware of the enormous benefits yielded by plantation economies in the Caribbean, Paraense colonists complained to the Municipal Council of Belém that given “the

²³ On the etymology of “quilombo” Robert Slenes, *Na Senzala, uma Flor: Esperanças e Recordações na Formação da Família Escrava - Brasil Sudeste, Século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999), 173-174.

²⁴ “Introdução Secretíssima com que Sua Magestade manda passar á Capital de Belém do Grão-Pará o Governador e Capitão-General João Pereira Caldas,” Rei and Conselheiro Manoel José Maria da Costa e Sá, September 2, 1772, in Moraes, *Corographia Historica*, 141.

²⁵ Rafael Chamboleyron, “Escravos do Atlântico Equatorial: Tráfico Negreiro para o Estado do Maranhão e Pará (Século XVII e Início Do Século XVIII),” *Revista Brasileira de História* 26, 52 (2006): 101-102; slaves disembarked until 1702 in Amazonia, “Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database,” <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/essays-intro-01.faces> (accessed January 2, 2011).

lack and necessity that this state has of workers to produce its crops ... it is very convenient to introduce Negroes.”²⁶ In order to do so, Pombal instituted the Companhia Geral de Comércio do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (CGCGPM). Financed through forced donations of private capital in 1755, and favored with tax exemptions, it could provide slaves on credit in order to facilitate their purchase.²⁷ It has been said that his effort to “encourage economic development and the introduction of African labor” simply “failed,” on the basis that in 1800, 22 years after the company’s dissolution in 1778, the 36,880 black and mulatto slaves living in Maranhão accounted for 46% of its 78,860 inhabitants, whereas the 18,944 slaves of Pará represented only 23% of its population.²⁸ However, a closer look at newer data on the slave trade to Belém suggests different conclusions.

According to the Slave Voyages Database, between 1755 and 1778 the CGCGPM introduced to Pará 17,273 African slaves, a rate of 751 enslaved persons per year. Of those slaves, as many as one-third or one-quarter may have been sold to slaveowners from Matto Grosso, south of Pará, reducing the slaves that stayed to only 9,832 individuals, or 427.5 persons per year.²⁹ However, as can be seen in [Figure 1.1](#), this average was punctuated by pronounced peaks in the arrival of slaves. After the irregular upwards trend that characterized the period of the CGCGPM, during the 1780s slave imports diminished, although they did not disappear. The vitality of cacao exports in the late 1700s and early 1800s, which responds to the difficulties of Venezuelan cacao during the revolutionary years, again stimulated slave imports. In 1808,

²⁶ Municipal Council of Belém to the Governor of Grão Pará and Maranhão, 17 April 1752, in Anaiza Vergolino-Henry and Arthur Napoleão Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana na Amazônia Colonial: Uma Notícia Histórica* (Belém: Arquivo Público do Pará, 1990), 69-70.

²⁷ Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*: 103-108, 123; MacLachlan, "African Slave Trade," 102-06; Vicente Salles, *O Negro no Pará sob o Regime da Escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas-Universidade Federal do Pará, 1971), 32-38.

²⁸ MacLachlan, "African Slave Trade," 119.

²⁹ José Maia Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará: Sécs. XVII-XIX* (Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2001), 30-33.

however, the French invasion of Portugal affected Paraense trade, and shortly afterwards political disturbances between Conservatives and Liberals in Pará greatly affected export trade starting in the late 1810s and through the 1820s. In sum, the CGCGPM did stimulate slave imports to Pará, and so did cacao exports during the period of Latin American independence.

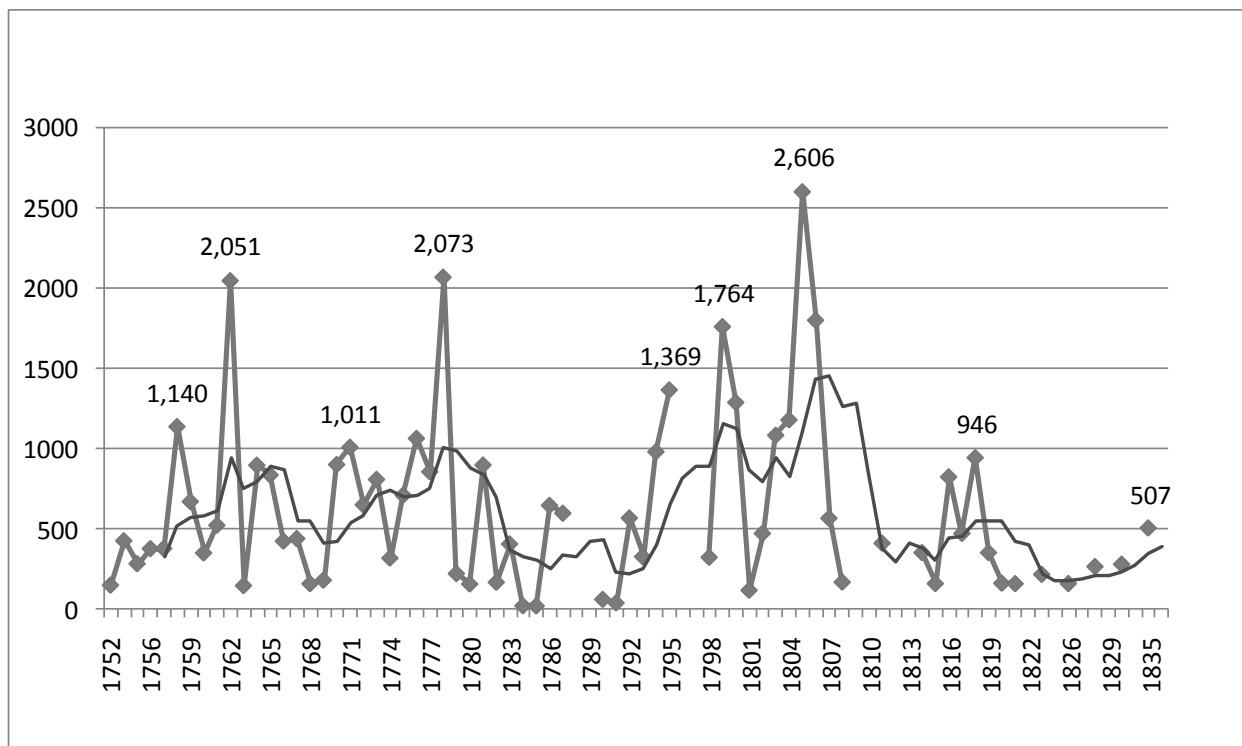


Figure 2.1. Slaves Disembarked in Belém, 1752-1835, with 5-Year Moving Average

Arguing that Pará's plantation economy failed to materialize and to spur economic growth also omits the fact that black slavery was circumscribed to the rivers around Belém, where African and creole slaves did represent a large percentage of the total population. In 1793 the city's population was 8,573, of whom 3,051 were black slaves and 1,099 mixed-race freedmen,

representing 35.6% and 12.8% of the total urban population, respectively.³⁰ In the early 1800s African bondsmen continued to represent a considerable part of the capital's population, and as much as 45.8% in 1823. And if Belém showed a high percentage of African slaves, other parishes in the Guajarine area and the lower Tocantins had still higher percentages: 48.3% in the Acará river, 54.3% in São Domingos da Boa Vista, 53.4% in the Bujaru river, and 40.1% in the Capim river parish.³¹ Aggregated data from all Pará, in other words, is not useful to understand the significance of African slavery in the Amazon, because bondage was clustered in some areas.

This labor force, largely from West Central Africa (Angola, Loango) and Senegambia, was employed in rice, cotton, coffee, sugar, and cacao plantations. Rice was especially important in present day Amapá, but was also produced in plantations of the Guajarine, Directorate villages, and by independent smallholders. It remained among the main exports throughout the period.³² Cotton developed especially in the lower Tocantins, probably by influence of Maranhão's cotton exports, which soared in the late 1700s.³³ Coffee never became very important among Pará's exports. Sugarcane, on the other hand, was planted almost exclusively in slaveholding plantations and often used to fabricate brandy, despite royal prohibition.³⁴ But the

³⁰ Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 69-70.

³¹ Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra*, 116.

³² Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 52; Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*, 134. A general picture of agricultural and extractive production between 1773 and 1797 is in Anderson, "Following Curupira", 28-29; Ciro Cardoso extends his overview to the 1810s in Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*, 133-137. Luiz Cordeiro, *O Estado do Pará: Seu Commercio e Industrias de 1719 a 1920* (Belém: Tavares Cardoso & Ca., 1920), 12-35, offers data from both periods.

³³ Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*, 135; Arlene Marie Kelly-Normand, "Africanos na Amazônia: Cem Anos antes da Abolição," *Cadernos Centro de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas* 18 (1988): 7; MacLachlan, "African Slave Trade," 105. See also Antonio Amaral, *Memorias para a História da Vida do Venerável Arcebispo de Braga Fr. Caetano Brandão*, vol. 1 (Braga: Typ. dos Orfãos 1867), 159, 249.

³⁴ Anderson, "Following Curupira", 54-55; Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*, 128. See also Amaral, *Memorias ... Fr. Caetano Brandão*, 146, 151-152, 159, 231-233, 236-237, 242, 249-250, 268; Alanna Souto Cardoso, "Apontamentos para História da Família e Demografia Histórica da Capitania do Grão-Pará (1750-1790)" (Unpublished MA Thesis, UFPA, 2008), 64-70; João de São José, "Viagem e Visita do Sertão em o Bispado do Grão-Pará em 1762 e 1763: Escripta pelo Bispo D. Fr. João de São José," *Jornal do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* IX (1869): 46, 508-510; Henry Lister Maw, *Journal of a Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Crossing the Andes in the*

most important export commodity throughout the Directorate era and the early third of the 1800s was cacao.³⁵ Declines in Venezuelan production of cacao during the revolutionary wars of the 1810s boosted the spread of cacao plantations using slave labor in the lower Tocantins and Baixo Amazonas. By the early decades of the nineteenth century cultivation of the crop was well established.³⁶

Evidence on the size and characteristics of the slave crews working in Paraense plantations in this period is still fragmentary. A study based on the 1788 census found that in the lower Tocantins, one of the main slaveholding regions, about half the slaves worked in middle-size plantations (10 to 49 slaves). A large number of small slaveholders (97) had 28.75% of all the slaves, with crews of 4 individuals on average. The four large slaveholders who owned more than 50 enslaved persons had crews of 66 individuals on average, a large number by Brazilian standards.³⁷ The masculinity rate was very high in all types of plantations, ranging from 1.4 enslaved men per woman in large plantations with absent masters, to 2.0 men per woman in small plantations with resident masters.³⁸ This imbalance of males indicates that local plantations were probably expanding and receiving new slaves with relative frequency.

The generally high sexual imbalance, indicative of an active slave trade, and the large size of slave crews owned by the richest slaveowners, are also symptoms of the emergence and gradual differentiation of a planter elite. Some planters descended from the original Portuguese *donatários de sesmarias*, royal land grant recipients from the 17th and early 18th centuries, given

Northern Provinces of Peru, and Descending the River Marañon, or Amazon (London: John Murray, 1829): 370-371, 376-377, 391.

³⁵ Dauril Alden, "The Significance of Cacao Production in the Amazon Region During the Late Colonial Period: An Essay in Comparative Economic History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, 2 (1976): 129; Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 43.

³⁶ Amaral, *Memorias ... Fr. Caetano Brandão*, 159, 242, 249-252, 333; Lieut. Wm. Lewis Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (Washington: Taylor & Maury, 1854), 325; Maw, *Journal of a Passage*, 340-343.

³⁷ Kelly-Normand, "Africanos na Amazônia," 13-21.

³⁸ Kelly-Normand, "Africanos na Amazônia," 17-19.

that the Guajarine and Tocantine basins were among the first areas to be settled in the Amazon.³⁹ Others increased their patrimony by purchasing real estate that had belonged to the Jesuits and other missionary orders, expelled during the second half of the 1700s.⁴⁰ But whatever the origins of their wealth, by the late 1700s and early 1800s planters or *senhores de engenho*⁴¹ became prominent members of the Paraense elite. The plantation parish of Cametá, in the lower Tocantins, concentrated 30% of the captaincy's richest citizens, and four out of the six highest military officers in Pará, the *mestres de campo*, were planters. The remainder of the elite consisted of cattle ranchers from Marajó, and they often possessed plantations too. Landed family dynasties like the Morais Bettencourt, the Mirandas, or the Henriques ruled paternalistically over large plantations with their families, slaves, Indians, and white and mixed-race workers, accumulated properties in the countryside and in the capital, and controlled local and state institutions.⁴²

In sum, a plantation economy did exist in Pará in the late colonial and early national period. It was mostly circumscribed to the riverine basins around Belém and to the region of Baixo Amazonas, where it impacted profoundly the social structure and the ethnic composition of the local population and permitted the preeminence of landed elites. Part of Pará's cacao, which constituted about 90% of Brazil's cacao exports between 1800 and 1810, and about a third

³⁹ Rafael Chambouleyron, *Povoamento, Ocupação e Agricultura na Amazônia Colonial (1640-1706)* (Belém: Açaí / UFPA, 2010), 101-107.

⁴⁰ Henry Walter Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (London: John Murray, 1892), 87; De São José, "Viagem e Visita do Sertão," 513-514; João de Palma Muniz, "Os Contemplados (Não Contemplados com Documentação)," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Pará* 1, 1 (1912), 71-78.

⁴¹ The literal translation is sugar-mill owner, but most mills were also plantations.

⁴² Rosa Acevedo, "Alianças Matrimoniais na Alta Sociedade Paraense no Século XIX," *Estudos Econômicos* 15 (1985): 153-161; Anderson, "Following Curupira", 165; Helder Bruno Palheta Ângelo, "A Trajetória dos Corrêa de Miranda no Século XIX: Alianças Sociais, Base Econômica e Capital Simbólico" (MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2009), 54; Cardoso, "Apontamentos para História da Família." See also Amaral, *Memórias ... Fr. Caetano Brandão*, 250; De São José, "Viagem e Visita do Sertão," 508-510; Eládio Lobato, *Caminho de Canoa Pequena* (Belém: ?, 2007), 120-121, 144-163.

of the total entering Europe in the same decade, came from slaveholding plantations – another part of it was collected in the forest.⁴³ Despite the growing internal instability of the 1820s, Pará consistently appeared as the fifth or sixth largest exporting province of Brazil, abandoning the condition of backwater.⁴⁴ In this sense, by becoming the target of metropolitan enlightened policies, by building on the opportunities created by the revolutionary wars, and by participating in the political agitations of post-independence Brazil, during the late colonial period Pará became increasingly connected to Atlantic events.

On the other hand, at the internal level the planter elite had to cope with the introduction of forced labor in a frontier region where native inhabitants had long resisted coercion. Inter-ethnic contacts and exchanges were almost impossible to avoid, because Indians were still used as laborers in collecting expeditions, plantation work, and domestic service. As a result, labor forces in large plantations were often composed of black slaves and Indians working together.⁴⁵ While each group responded to enslavement and exploitation by developing different strategies, they shared the practice of fleeing and creating free villages beyond the reach of the white elite.

⁴³ Alden, "The Significance of Cacao Production," 127, 132.

⁴⁴ Ministerio da Fazenda do Brazil, *Exposição do Estado da Fazenda Publica do Anno de 1821 à 1823* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1823), 22-23; Ministerio da Fazenda do Brazil, *Relatorio em Fim do Anno de 1825, com o Orçamento da Renda, e Despeza que Podera Ter Lugar no Corrente Anno de 1826* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1826), 55.

⁴⁵ Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 76, 80, 83, 151.

2.3 LOCAL NETWORKS BEYOND ETHNIC AND LEGAL BORDERS

On July 9, 1752, it was reported that near Antônio Nunes da Silva's farm on the Cupijó river there was a settlement of runaway Indians, criminals, and blacks.⁴⁶ This early example of Indians and Africans sharing residential spaces with some degree of stability anticipated the frequency of marronage during the following century.

Indian flight seems to have increased during the second half of the 1700s, when Jesuit and other missionaries were expelled from the Amazon and the Directorate was promulgated. In 1758, a group of Coyana Indians from the Rio Negro stated that Capuchin missionary Francisco da Villa had "persuaded" them "to run away to the forest because the Villages were no longer in religious hands, and would now be administered by secular directors ... under whose government [the Indians] would experience infinite injustice and violence and eventually become the Whites' slaves."⁴⁷ On September 5, 1791, a slave named José testified before the local justice how another slave had incited him to abscond from his master, who lived in Macapá, to join the Araguary river maroon community. According to José, "the French ... had sent a Father of the Company [of Jesus]" to the maroon, "although this one died and they sent another one, who governed" the settlement.⁴⁸

Whatever the causes, it is clear that the natives had the knowledge runaway slaves needed to survive in the forest: the Indians were "like amphibians, able to travel through the water and

⁴⁶ José Fernando Neves to Manoel de Souza Coelho, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 67.

⁴⁷ "Devassa sobre desordens cometidas por indios nas novas aldeas," 1758, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 87; also Joaquim de Mello e Povia to Manoel Bernardo de Mello de Castro, January 28, 1763, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana Na Amazônia Colonial*, 71-72.

⁴⁸ Interrogatory to Negro Miguel, Antonio de Miranda's slave, September 5, 1791, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 112-14.

the forest with equal ease.”⁴⁹ Thus, in 1774 a group of Indians and black slaves were caught “traveling upriver with the intent of reaching the gold mines of Goiás,” a distant province south of Pará following the course of the Tocantins river.⁵⁰ By the late 1700s African slaves had apparently learned the secrets of the forest: in 1791 a government official explained that runaway slaves in Macapá were “the only pilots in these vast and tangled backlands,” and in 1797 a military report explained how “in the forest ... the blacks fight much better than regular troops.”⁵¹ A study of Brazilian marronage in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries counted in the Amazon 17 *mocambos* with Indians and African slaves between 1762 and 1801, and 37 composed only of Indians between 1752 and 1809, according to official sources.⁵²

When slaves absconded from a plantation they needed as much manioc flour as possible, since this would probably be their main sustenance during the following days or even weeks. In Macapá, close to the border with French Guiana, three runaway slaves were captured when they stopped at a farm to steal *farinha* in 1792.⁵³ The Indians could also share other techniques of finding or preserving food, like those who taught the runaways how to salt fish in Beja in 1752.⁵⁴ If a stable settlement was eventually formed, the maroons cultivated manioc and fabricated their own flour. In 1779, a re-enslavement expedition near Macapá found manioc plantings in a maroon camp, and nine years later another expedition burnt the houses and manioc grounds of a *mocambo* in the same area. Other crops could enrich the diet: in 1797 the authorities discovered a maroon settlement near Gurupá with “mud-walled houses, substantial rice plantations, and

⁴⁹ “Reflexões Sobre o Modo porque se deve Attacar a Guianna Francesa,” April 8, 1797, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 66-71.

⁵⁰ Letter to the Director of Baião, April 17, 1774, in Gomes, *Hydra e os Pântanos*, 58.

⁵¹ For example João Vasco Manoel Brown to Francisco de Souza Coutinho, June 11, 1791, and “Reflexões sobre o Modo...,” in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 153, 68.

⁵² Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 78, 65.

⁵³ Manoel Gonçalves Meninea to Francisco de Souza Coutinho, February 27, 1792, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 163-64.

⁵⁴ Letter from August 26, 1766, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 67.

maize ... that has been here for more than four years.”⁵⁵ Five years before, a captured maroon from Macapá explained that in one such community near the Araguay river “they had manioc, maize, and rice grounds, some of them more than one league distant, others near their houses, so that they can harvest the distant ones if they are assaulted by the whites.”⁵⁶

If manioc agriculture was not enough the maroons could steal cattle, poultry, or agricultural produce from nearby plantations and ranches –local authorities petitioned the governors and even Lisbon authorities hundreds of times concerning such thefts.⁵⁷ Maroons could also obtain goods and other needed commodities (clothing, weapons, elaborate food, beverages, religious items, tobacco, sugar) through trade.⁵⁸ In Mazagão, north of Marajó island, farmer Adão Soares petitioned colonial authorities in 1794 to watch more closely the local fairs, at which nearby maroons sold their crops. Six years later, a punitive expedition found “*farinha*, canoes, and weapons” in a *mocambo* on the Curuá river, near Alenquer, and in 1811 a maroon captured by an expedition to the same river explained how “the *amocambados* went to the Village of Alenquer to trade, bringing oakum, tar, Brazil nuts, and cotton and ... sold everything to Cpt. Antônio Pereira in exchange for gunpowder, ammunition, weapons, tools, and cloth to

⁵⁵ Manoel Gonçalves Meninea to Martinho de Souza e Albuquerque, December 31, 1788, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 50; Letter to Martinho de Souza e Albuquerque, July 15, 1788, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 184-86; Letter from August 28, 1797, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 63.

⁵⁶ Letter by Manoel Joaquim de Abreu, February 27, 1792, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 165-67.

⁵⁷ Nuno da Cunha de Atayde Varona to the Governor, July 21, 1765, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 80-81; Letter to Francisco de Souza Coutinho, June 1790, and Idem, June 22, 1790, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 20-22.

⁵⁸ This phenomenon has always received the attention of modern researchers on marronage Gad Heuman, *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance, and Marronage in Africa and the New World* (London: Frank Cass, 1986), 141; Javier Laviña, "Comunidades Afroamericanas: Identidad de Resistencia," *Boletín Americanista* 48 (1998); Timothy James Lockley, *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 21, 121; Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 19-22; Flavio Gomes and João José Reis, ed., *Liberdade por um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996), 10, 263, 300, 332, 451, 481; José Luis Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla, Ataque y Defensa de un Mocambo en la Amazonía," in *Relaciones Sociales e Identidades en América*, ed. Gabriela Dalla Corte, et al. (Barcelona: Edicions de la UB, 2002), 108-110; Alvin O. Thompson, *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006), 244-260.

dress the many people living there: other black men, women, and children.”⁵⁹ While in Cametá the trade between local merchants and maroons was denounced in 1815, in Monsarás, a small town on Marajó island, the captured runaway slave Miguel confessed some years before that the Indians “traded with the fugitive slaves.”⁶⁰ Networks of material exchange were widespread and very active, becoming a fundamental resource in the economic strategies of the maroons.

Sometimes valuable information traveled alongside material goods. Thanks to their contacts in the slave quarters, Directorate villages, towns, cities, and trading posts, the maroons could anticipate re-enslavement expeditions or attract other slaves to the free settlements. In 1787, the Municipal Council of Belém sent a report to Governor Souza e Albuquerque listing the *mocambos* that plagued the areas surrounding the city.

One [*mocambo*] is on the Una stream, where there are three roads; taking one of them the maroons surround Dom João Henriques de Almeida’s brickyard and reach the Maranhão road, where they can enter the city [;] they also go to Utinga, easily taking the path to Manoel Joaquim’s stone quarry; [There is] another [*mocambo*] along the Mauari river, next to the village of Bemfica, where they descend and walk across the Pinheiro farm, arriving to the islands and eventually reaching the road to Maranhão, by which they communicate with the other maroons; crossing the Murutucú stream they join the fugitive blacks of the Guamá river, who reside on Manoel José Alves Bandeira’s island; [there is] another [*mocambo*] of considerable size in the Anajás river composed of slaves, deserters, and criminals; And four [more *mocambos*] can be found on the Macacos river, one of them in André Correia Picanço’s lands, and another in José Furtado de Mendonça’s, Judge of the Village of Chaves, which are all allied with the abovementioned.⁶¹

This was an extensive network reaching several rivers and streams around Belém. But there were more: the threads that connected maroons, slaves, and other individuals reached the most remote

⁵⁹ Letter from August 27, 1794; Óbidos Judge Fernando Ribeiro Pinto, September 20, 1800; Letter from May 6, 1811; in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 53-55.

⁶⁰ João Felipe Xavier Cardoso, Judge of Cametá, April 24, 1815; Florentino da Silva Frade to Governor João Pereira Caldas, February 11 and 27, 1775, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 58, 68.

⁶¹ Cardoso, *Economia e Sociedade*, 146.

corners of Amazonia. In 1765, for example, São José de Macapá's Municipal Council reported that some runaways had left Cayenne, in the French Guiana, heading towards the previously mentioned village of Chaves, on the island of Marajó, some 500 miles away.⁶² While the runaways sought to establish permanent relations with plantation and urban slaves to facilitate long trips like these, they also tried to attract new recruits to the communities and to acquire new informants among plantation slaves. "Each one of these slaves," Macapá's councilmen argued in 1793 about a group of captured runaways, "is a pilot that could very well return the others to the lands they come from," that is, to the maroon community. Count Dos Arcos, the Governor of Pará, instructed Lieutenant Francisco Xavier Gomes d'Amaral in 1804 to capture "the individuals who communicate with the *mocambistas*" and send them to Belém. A *capitão do mato* stated in 1791 that the maroons "have sometimes sent messengers to the farms in this town," and in March 1796 metropolitan authorities warned local officers in Macapá that "since the voices seeking to stir up turmoil came from slaves ... no disorder should be allowed to sprout, and ... any meeting of these individuals should be prohibited."⁶³ This was wise advice from the standpoint of the slaveowners: in 1791 a slave named Miguel confessed in the same city how fellow slave José had asked him "if he wanted to see and speak to the fugitive slaves" when he was on his way back from his masters' manioc plot. José led Miguel to a barn, where he met Joaquim, Domingos, and four other runaways. They tried to convince Miguel to join them by telling him how well they were treated, how their wounds were taken care of, how they could cultivate their manioc grounds, raise cattle, and trade with the French at their will. Miguel's final

⁶² Nuno da Cunha de Atayde Varona to the Governor, September 18, 1765, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 84-85.

⁶³ Macapá Municipal Council to the Governor, February 21, 1793; Governor to Lt. Francisco Xavier Gomes d'Amaral, April 27, 1804, Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 114-115 and 91; João Vasco ..., in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 153; letter from Luiz Pinto de Souza, March 23, 1796, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 207-208.

decision is unclear, but his experience shows that fugitive slaves did try to attract other slaves to their safe havens by constructing communication networks that reached slave-owning properties.⁶⁴

The report from Belém's city council stated that "four [*mocambos*] can be found in the Macacos river, one of them in André Correia Picanço's lands, and another in José Furtado de Mendonça's." Sometimes white landowners gave shelter to runaways in order to profit from their labor or from their work skills. In 1790 the Governor of Pará sent a small military force to Antonio Luiz Soares's farm, near the town of Portel, to capture "four fugitive slaves and two army deserters who live there."⁶⁵ Three years later a group of cowboys from Macapá were accused of communicating with maroons using their own code of signs, trading with local bartenders [*taberneiros*], and hiding among slaves on local cattle ranches. On the island of Joanes (Marajó), one local official charged that "many *mocambos* with many and varied people are protected by local propertied individuals who try to profit from their labor and business."⁶⁶

However, if the members of the City Council knew that a vast maroon communication network existed, then it was not safe for the fugitives to use it. This was certainly one of the potential dangers of sharing information with local agents and informers: they could betray the fugitives. Lieutenant Leonardo Jozé Parreira narrated in a 1779 report how he had found an abandoned maroon camp thanks to João, a former fugitive.⁶⁷ In turn, the maroons took precautions to avoid betrayal: slave Manoel explained in 1792 how "the negroes who abscond from the city are not allowed into the [Araguary river maroon] village until a year has passed."

⁶⁴ Interrogatory to Negro Miguel ... in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 112-114.

⁶⁵ Letter from the Governor, September 13, 1790, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 193.

⁶⁶ André Corrêa to Gov. Francisco de Souza Coutinho, September 30, 1793; Joaquim Manoel Pereira Pinto to Gov. Francisco de Souza Coutinho, August 9, 1801, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 51, 68.

⁶⁷ Leonardo Jozé Parreira to Cpt. Manoel Gonsalves Meninea, January 16, 1779, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 109-110.

Once they were authorized to do so, the newcomers were under tight surveillance “so that they do not disclose the maroon’s location, given that Governor Manoel da Gama captured a small *mocambo* by sending there a negro” some years before.⁶⁸ Trading information was extremely useful, but risky – it could save a maroon settlement from hostile expeditions, but it could also reveal its location if precautions were not taken.

2.4 AMAZON MAROONS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The information networks that Amazonian maroons knitted together were decisive in the Captaincy of Pará’s support for the invasion of French Guiana between 1809 and 1817, in the context of the Napoleonic Wars. The specter of the French Revolution haunted imperial borders in the Amazon, and the possibility that the maroons’ information channels could broadcast revolutionary ideas terrified colonial authorities. The Guianas plateau had traditionally been the scenario of rivalries between Atlantic imperial powers, and the fact that the subjugation of Indians and Africans was the default social arrangement in the region heightened the level of tension. Indian or African fugitives could exploit the rivalries between colonial empires for their own profit, as they did in colonial Florida, Saint-Domingue/Haiti, or Panama.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Letter from Manoel Joaquim ... in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 165-66. See also Décio Freitas, *La Revolución de las Clases Infames* (Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 2008), 61-65.

⁶⁹ Carolyn E. Fick, *The Making of Haiti: The Saint-Domingue Revolution from Below* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Kevin Mulroy, *The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1993); Alvin O. Thompson, *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas* (Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006), 114.

In 1753 the Marquis of Pombal held secret conversations with the Spanish Ministers José de Carvajal and the Count of Perelada “to avoid the progress of foreign usurpation” in the Amazon basin, that is, to stop the inland advances of French and Dutch colonists and explorers from the Caribbean/Atlantic shore. In addition to settling on lands contiguous to the Dutch holdings, Perelada proposed to Pombal to “help” the Saramaka maroons, while avoiding overt participation in the conflict. “And if their Blacks make the Dutch abandon the territory we will take it over and divide it in a friendly way, establishing the limits that we agree on, and we will establish towns in the settlements of the black rebels,” Perelada concluded, “who will defend the territory well.”⁷⁰ The Spanish Crown had already pitted maroons against other imperial powers for its own purposes. In northern Florida, for example, fugitive slaves from colonial South Carolina and Georgia became the garrison of Gracia Real de Santa Maria de Mose by royal grant in 1739.⁷¹ However, unlike in Mose the Portuguese-Spanish plan to evict the Dutch from present-day Suriname did not prosper.

When African slaves were brought to Pará by the CGCGPM, the authorities showed themselves concerned with how maroons used the borders as safe havens, threatening the territorial integrity of the Portuguese Amazon. The hottest spot was Macapá, the territory north of the Amazon’s mouth. In 1773, for example, there was news of a group of nine runaway slaves who crossed to the French side.⁷² Shortly afterwards another eight men and one woman who had fled from their plantation in Cayenne were captured in Macapá. They “had associated with one in this village, whom I also captured,” reported a member of the local garrison. In June 1790 the

⁷⁰ The Secret Plan of Portugal and Spain against the Guiana Dutch, June 9, 1753; The Secret Plan ... Annexes, 1753, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 84-87.

⁷¹ Mulroy, *Seminole Maroons*, 9.

⁷² Letter from João Pereira Caldas, November 14, 1773, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 174.

Captain General of Macapá, Martinho de Mello e Castro, informed the Governor that there were many deserters and runaway slaves in the captaincy. He counted 342 of the former, and more than 70 of the latter, “who are probably in Cayenne.”⁷³

After 1789 the arrival of news about the ongoing revolution in France caused an escalation of tension. In January 1791 the slaves Bonifácio and Luis were arrested in Macapá because they were heard saying “then he will surrender the city” in a conversation with two other slaves on Christmas Eve, 1790. The slaves denied the accusation, and it was never ascertained who was the “he” that Bonifácio and Luis referred to.⁷⁴ The Governor of Amapá also started a series of operations to disband the groups of fugitives that inhabited the border. In March 1791, he sent an expedition of two canoes with arms and ammunition to reduce a *mocambo* of Indians near Vigia and to explore the Aruaguary river, near the border with French Guiana, where the expeditionary force was ordered to find “the settlement that the French have supposedly erected ... with the pretext of gathering information about their runaway slaves.” Another objective was to track the presence or vestiges of “any *mocambo* inhabited by Whites, Indians, or Blacks.”⁷⁵ Revolutionary France’s alleged attempts at establishing new settlements in the Aruaguary river could cause several problems: “losing that part of the territory ... introducing more contraband; becoming a comfortable shelter for army deserters; and the safest *mocambo* for [runaway] slaves, thus significantly harming agriculture.”⁷⁶

In 1792 a squadron of five armed vessels was sent to patrol the area between the mouths of the Oiapoque and the Approuague rivers, with the intent of avoiding French incursions and

⁷³ Manoel Lobo de Almada to Jose de Napoles Sello de Menezes, July 20, 1780; Martinho de Mello e Castro to Martinho de Souza e Albuquerque, June 1790; in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 148, 177.

⁷⁴ “Inquerito,” January 17, 1791, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 149-151.

⁷⁵ João Vasco Manoel Brown, Governor of Macapá, March 21, 1791, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 154-156.

⁷⁶ Francisco de Souza Coutinho do Martinho de Mello e Castro, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 94-95.

settlements in the zone. New dispositions were also promulgated concerning the maroons of the Araguay river “fearing that those Negroes had help from the French,” given that “from that community some maroons continued to descend [to Macapá and other towns], coming to invite ... and persuade other slaves” to join them. Maroon operations were “a means that our turbulent neighbors can use to introduce [in Brazil] the fire of discord that consumes them ... by flattering the slaves with the idea of supposed freedom and equality.”⁷⁷

Such “flattering” and consequent Portuguese fears of maroon subversion reached new heights in 1794, when the French Convention abolished slavery.⁷⁸ Moving fast, Governor Francisco de Souza Coutinho sought to raise the level of security by gathering intelligence files on French Guiana, recruiting secret agents, and providing asylum to émigrés. The stakes were high: in November a report from the city of Mazagão explained that “regarding the slaves, what the French have put in practice in their [Caribbean] islands is known here thanks to the newspapers that arrive from Europe, and even the slaves are aware of it.”⁷⁹ Reports about the situation in French Guiana were worrisome. In January 1795 Coutinho informed Lisbon that “after the promulgation of the decree abolishing slavery all the French slaveowners are reduced to misery, consternation, and terror infused by the Blacks – the masters dream of somebody who can restore the slaves to their previous condition.” Moreover, the new Civil Commissioner appointed by the Convention “belongs to the party of the Blacks, and to those who did not have slaves in the past, because these have the expectation, fed by him, of ... promulgating the Decree that will share the goods of the rich with the poor in equality...” According to Coutinho, “fields

⁷⁷ Francisco de Souza Coutinho to Martinho de Mello e Castro, July 8, 1792, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 89-91.

⁷⁸ Robin Blackburn, *A Queda do Escravismo Colonial, 1776-1848* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2002), Ch. 6; Laurent Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2004), 191-198, 222. Slavery was restored in the French colonies in 1802.

⁷⁹ Moanoel Gonçalves Meninea to Francisco de Souza Coutinho, November 29, 1794, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 153-154.

and crops [were] lost for not having workers to work on them.” French Guiana was now “an exasperated *Mocambo* of Blacks led by an European ... and the least harm we can expect is that they provide shelter to our slaves, but far worse and of [harm]” is that the French were in communication with Paraense slaves. Coutinho concluded by detailing the coast-guarding patrols that he had established in the rivers near the border to control the movement of persons. “The main objective is preventing their [the French] communication with the slaves and Indians, and that these can flee with impunity.”⁸⁰

French émigrés soon flocked to the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará in search of protection and access to slave labor. Jacques Caramel Francis, for example, was admitted as a refugee in Belém on April 15, 1795, where he arrived with his wife, a goddaughter, three children, “a black woman and an Indian woman, both of whom wanted to come with him ... with the declared intention of building an agricultural estate and buying again the slaves that he lost due to the Decree that freed them.” After serving in the Caribbean and Africa, Caramel had lived in Bourdeaux and finally in Cayenne, where he became a sugar planter with 12 slaves and headed a family of three white children and one racially mixed. He informed Paraense authorities how the Colonial Assembly of Cayenne had established a forced labor draft for slaves “under the most rigorous penalties,” but the black Guianese “said that they would rather be slaves than subject themselves to that Decree.”⁸¹ Refugees Du Grevoullier or Grenoullier and Sahut requested and obtained asylum in Pará in June 1795, due to the “calamities in their country and risk of life caused by the freedom of the blacks.” Both expressed “consternation over the loss of their slaves” and were granted asylum because, from the standpoint of the authorities, “if they

⁸⁰ Letter from Francisco de Souza Coutinho, January 10, 1785, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 26-28.

⁸¹ Report to the Governor, April 20, 1795; Report to the Governor, Pará, April 15, 1795; Report to the Governor, Val-de-Cães, April 15, 1795, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 73-76.

are given some Indians to form their estates until they save enough to buy slaves, ... they will be satisfied and will be of utility to the country.”⁸²

Du Grevoullier, Sahut, and a group of returned prisoners brought news of a rebellion led by former slaves who rejected the forced labour levees. The revolt was eventually put down, and black and mulatto freedmen remained loyal to the revolutionary government: “you should always expect from the Negroes that they defend their freedom.” Customary trade practiced by plantation slaves and maroons had now flourished in full bloom: blacks in Cayenne “are many ... ordinarily 300, 400, 600, and in the holidays more than 1,000 ... because they come from nearby plantations” to sell their crops in urban markets. In Cayenne propertied men were, as several witnesses and émigrés explained, “discontent due to the liberation of their slaves ... and paying a salary to blacks working in domestic service.”⁸³

In sum, colonial authorities in Pará concluded that “revolutions and movements have spread across all the districts of the [French] colony ... falling on its inhabitants with terror and ferocity.” But that was not the main problem. “There is no doubt that slave flight from French Guiana could cause great harm to us; however, such harm can not be compared to what could be caused by emissaries sent [to Pará] to promote rebellion among the slaves and the Indians, and even the whites who have nothing to lose.” For Governor Coutinho slaves and Indians “are no doubt better messengers than the most educated French ones, and they have much help from our runaways, who know the local routes and can help them in remote rivers, streams, and islands in this country, where the population is scattered.” Yet Coutinho was skeptical about the idea of

⁸² Luiz Pinto de Souza to Francisco de Souza Coutinho, June 18, 1795; José Leocadio Roiz Camelo to Francisco de Souza Coutinho, June 24, 1795; Report to the Governor, February 4, 1795, in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 205-206, 154, and Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 39-41.

⁸³ “Rezumo das Informações que se Houverão dos Prezioneros Portugueses...,” March 31, 1797; “Interrogatory to Jozé da Trindade,” March 29, 1797, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 47-50, 57-58.

invading French Guiana. “Your Majesty wants the old order to be re-established,” he wrote in 1797, “but this cannot be achieved without great outlay of time and blood ... How could it be otherwise, if these [former slaves] have knowledge, instruction, and discipline, if they have good guides, and if they feel that they could lose the freedom they have enjoyed for years? Here [in Pará] as in all Brazil it is difficult to maintain the blacks in slavery; they constantly flee and form *mocambos*, and their resistance is obstinant *because other blacks help them, and other individuals purchase the goods that the maroons steal*. How could we not expect the same” in French Guiana?⁸⁴

French Guiana was finally invaded in 1809, seven years after having re-instated slavery. The invasion had been plotted in alliance with the English Crown since 1789, but the French invasion of Portugal in 1807 was the spark that finally led colonial authorities to attack French Guiana in retaliation. A further contributing motive was the fear of French revolutionary subversion among Pará’s slaves and maroons. Such subversion fell short of impacting Pará, but this would not be the last time when maroons had the chance to participate in a social revolution.

2.5 WARTIME NETWORKS: THE CABANAGEM REVOLT

The early nineteenth century was a convulsive period in Pará. Given the geographic and commercial ties between Pará and Portugal, and the high presence of foreign merchants and

⁸⁴ Martinho de Mello e Castro to Francisco de Souza Coutinho, February 4, 1795, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 39-41.; Letter to Luiz Pinto de Souza, June 21, 1795 in Vergolino-Henry and Figueiredo, *A Presença Africana*, 206.; Letter from April 20, 1798, in Gomes, *A Hydra e os Pântanos*, 73-74.; Francisco de Souza Coutinho to the King, April 8, 1797, in Gomes, De Queiroz, and Coelho, *Relatos de Fronteiras*, 28-32.

sailors in Belém, the city experienced intensely the influence of nineteenth-century liberalism. Local activists and their followers supported the 1821 Liberal revolt in Oporto but were immediately ferociously repressed. The same ties with Portugal explain why the Paraense government did not initially support independence when it was declared in São Paulo on September 7, 1822. Instead, the newly created Brazilian government had to send British mercenary Lord Cochrane and his subaltern John P. Grenfell to “persuade” Pará (and other northern states) to join independence. After his initial success in forcing the provincial government to join independence, Grenfell proved unable to pacify a province in which armed confrontations between Liberals and Conservatives, and between Portuguese and nativist factions, had intensified in the previous decade. Indians, *mestiço* peasants, and even slaves, had suffered increasing pressures over their land and labor since the early 1800s due to the rising cacao exports, and were often mobilized in political disputes, gradually participating more and more in the climate of political confrontation and factionalism.⁸⁵

In 1831 Portuguese-born emperor Dom Pedro I left Brazil for Portugal, and the pro-Portuguese party in Belém deposed the liberal president.⁸⁶ This led to an escalation of violence between 1832 and 1834: the Brazilian faction rose to defend its deposed leaders, and so did the Portuguese in turn, usually murdering their rivals and attacking their properties. At every stage of the process both factions sought to enlist popular groups, such as *caboclo* peasants, sedentary Indians, freedmen, poor agricultural workers, and even slaves, on their side. However, because in the early decades of the 1800s Portuguese cacao planters and merchants had tightened their grip

⁸⁵ Anderson, "Following Curupira", 58-60; David Cleary, "'Lost Altogether to the Civilised World': Race and the Cabanagem in Northern Brazil, 1750 to 1850," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, 1 (1998): 113-15; Mark Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840* (Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), Ch. 4 and 6; Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 226-227; Ricci, "De la Independencia a la Revolución Cabana," 55,81.

⁸⁶ Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon*, 206.

on local land and resources, popular sectors gradually embraced anti-Portuguese, Liberal idioms of struggle against exploitation and tyranny, and adapted them to the local context.⁸⁷ The bulk of participants in anti-Portuguese uprisings and armed actions were poor peasants of mixed ethnic background who lived in huts (*cabanos*) near the rivers, hence their name of *cabanos*.

On São Tomé Day (January 7), 1835, a force of *cabano* rebels took over Belém and murdered Governor Lobo de Sousa. They denounced freemasonry and foreign domination as expressed in Liberal reforms coming from Rio (which were seen as an attack on local customs despite the Liberal ideology of *cabano* leaders) and the dominance of Portuguese merchants. The rebel forces were composed mainly of Indians, *caboclos*, and *mulatos*, and their leaders were Creole merchants, planters holding middle-size properties, artisans, and “patriot” or localist priests. Félix Clemente Malcher, a smallholder from the Acará River region, who became the first *cabano* president, espoused a reformist agenda, based on designating local men of property as candidates to hold public office. He was soon replaced by Francisco Vinagre, who, fearing to lose control over the masses of *cabanos*, handed the province over to the imperial military on May 21, 1835.

The first wave of arrests carried out by the imperial government in Belém led radical *cabano* leader Eduardo Francisco “Angelim” Nogueira, who worked on Malcher’s farm, to re-take the city on August 23, 1835, after a bloody week of combat.⁸⁸ Despite efforts by *cabano* leaders to maintain legal order and respect for private property (except for property belonging to their rivals), foreign observers and local elites soon claimed that the revolt was against “the whites.” “The Indians were murdering all the Europeans,” two foreigner travelers were told in Santarém in 1835. General Francisco Soares d’Andrea, who re-took Belém in May 1836 and

⁸⁷ Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon*, 205-214.

⁸⁸ Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 229.

directed the ferocious repression of the *cabanos* in 1837 and 1838, charged that “all the men of color born here are linked in a secret pact to put an end to all the whites.”⁸⁹ German botanist Eduard Poeppig described the rebels as “hordes of robbing and blood-thirsty mestizos, mulattoes, and negroes ... pushed on from place to place sparing only the largest towns, killing whites with indescribable cruelty and plundering and burning settlements or passing ships. Everywhere,” he added, “their arrival was a signal for revolt by the coloured rabble who formed the majority of the blind workforce of the superior white Brazilian.”⁹⁰

The Cabanagem revolt became a constellation of agendas expressed by members of different social classes and ethnic groups. The political leaders who became *cabano* presidents developed an agenda focused on guaranteeing their representation in public office, but every popular group formulated their own demands. Mundurucu Indians from Rio Negro helped the authorities to quell *cabano* resistance, but other Indian nations attacked white landowners in the area. African and Creole slaves also expressed their own visions of freedom. Joaquim Antonio, “an officer of the rebel militia ... commanded a force of more than 500 men and proclaimed freedom in his own way, including that of the slaves.” In Belém a mulatto slave “washed his hands in innocent blood” when he killed his Portuguese master, a planter from Igarapé-Mirim. Slaves and freedmen tried to access politics by expressing their political allegiances and by participating in militia companies of “black and mulattoes.”⁹¹ Both Joaquim Antonio and the

⁸⁹ William Smyth and Frederick Lowe, *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Pará across the Andes and Down the Amazon* (London: John Murray, Albermarle Streest, 1836), 300. Andréa is quoted and translated in Cleary, “Lost Altogether,” 112.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Hemming, *Amazon Frontier*, 231.

⁹¹ Ricci, “De la Independencia a la Revolución Cabana,” 82-85; Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 265-267.

mulatto slave who killed his master were shot by a firing squad in the capital city, for the *cabano* leaders never abolished slavery.⁹²

However, some slaves built their own freedom during the years of the Cabanagem. During the revolt numerous armed bands of plantation slaves, maroons, and deserters were formed, breaking the borders that separated *mocambos* from plantations. The Guajarine and Tocantine basins were privileged sites for these events, given the high proportions of slaves in the local populations. The slave Francisco de Oliveira Sipião, for example, was “a captain of the *cabanos*[,] and played an influential role in the disorders” of the Acará river region. He was captured and sent to Belém along with nine other slaves in 1836. In the same area, the “Negro Felix” maintained guerrilla operations for several years after Angelim’s fall in 1835. A slave of the Caraparu plantation, “o preto Cristóvão” led a group of at least 150 slave rebels and deserters to resist three military expeditions sent by Andréa in late 1835. After resisting the attack of a force of 200 soldiers, Cristóvão led the fugitives into “the almost impenetrable forest,” never to be seen again. In 1838 the military commander of Muaná, in the island of Marajó, reported the existence of a group of “maroon cabanos” led by a black leader named Côco. Similar reports came from Baixo Amazonas.⁹³

It is hard to say whether former maroons mobilized plantation slaves, or if plantation slaves now became maroons – perhaps both. What is clear is that during wartime masters’ authority was seriously undermined and that opportunities for running away became frequent due to the turmoil plaguing the province. In the Guajarine and Tocantins regions, “most plantations

⁹² Magda Ricci, “Nação e Revolução: A Cabanagem e a Experiência da “Brasilidade” na Amazônia (1820-1840),” in *T(r)ópicos de História: Gente, Espaço e Tempo na Amazônia (Séculos XVII a XXI)*, ed. José Luis Ruíz-Peinado and Rafael Chambouleyron (Belém: Açai / Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social da Amazônia (UFPA), 2010), 156; Vicente Salles, *O Negro na Formação da Sociedade Paraense: Textos Reunidos* (Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2004), 90-91.

⁹³ Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 267-269.

and ranches were destroyed, their slaves dispersed or dead, the cattle consumed, and the most basic crops wiped out,” reported General Andréa in 1838.⁹⁴ “Everywhere the towns were sacked, cities despoiled, cattle destroyed, and slaves carried away,” observed American naturalist William Edwards in 1846.⁹⁵ Estimates range between 20,000 and 30,000 dead, or about a quarter of the Amazonian population.⁹⁶ The export trade stopped completely. Not only were foreign vessels assaulted on occasion; maritime traffic was blockaded by British, French, and Brazilian men-of-war for most of 1835 and 1836, and foreign consuls left Belém under risk of death.

2.6 RECOVERY AND CHANGE

The Paraense economy did not recover until the late 1840s, when the export trade revived thanks to plantation crops like cacao, sugar, rice, cotton, annatto, and coffee, and thanks also to the rise of rubber exports.⁹⁷ It is surprising that the plantation economy played such an important role in the recovery between 1850 and approximately 1870, given the havoc wrought by Cabanagem.

⁹⁴ Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 264.

⁹⁵ William H. Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon Including a Residence at Pará* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1861), 24. See also Emilio Carrey, *O Amazonas: Segunda Parte: Os Revoltosos do Pará: Descrição de Viagem, Traduzida e Annotada por F. F. da Silva Vieira* (Lisboa: Typographia do Futuro, 1862), 299-313.

⁹⁶ Cleary, “Lost Altogether,” 130.

⁹⁷ Luciana Marinho Batista, “Muito além dos Seringais: Elites, Fortunas e Hierarquias no Grão-Pará, C.1850-C.1870” (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2004), 69-70; Cordeiro, *O Estado do Pará*, 60; Pará, *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembleia Legislativa Provincial por S. Exc.a o Sr. Vice-Almirante e Conselheiro de Guerra Joaquim Raymundo de Lamare, Presidente da Provincia, em 15 de Agosto de 1867* (Belém: Typ. de Frederico Rhossard, 1867), 16-19.

This suggests that planters perhaps withstood the Cabanagem revolt better than previously thought.⁹⁸

In the aftermath of the Cabanagem Paraense elites tried to re-gain control over popular groups. A *Corpo de Trabalhadores* or Labor Corps was created in 1838 with the intent of “removing from idleness an excessive number of Indians, blacks, and *mestiços* lacking education, who exceed three quarters of the population ... In the fertile province of Pará, where nature gives everybody what they need in abundance, work is considered by those classes an unnecessary and intolerable constraint.”⁹⁹ If they did not have a stable job, nonwhites could be forced to enlist in the Labor Corps, which performed public works and was also used as labor on plantations and ranches.¹⁰⁰ Enrolling some 5,000 workers, the Corps embodied the racial anxieties of the elite, and represented revenge against popular groups after the bloodshed of the Cabanagem years. It was finally abolished in 1859 because of its liability “to simple abuse, becoming a mechanism of gain” for those who controlled it.¹⁰¹

In the post-Cabanagem decades Paraense elites also became concerned with the activities of itinerant retail merchants: the *regatões*. The trade they conducted allowed rural populations to escape dependence on landowners and often to bypass the control landowners sought over the commercialization of forest items. In 1850 the state government prohibited the activities of *regatões*, although so many protests arrived from the interior that the prohibition was struck

⁹⁸ Anderson, “Following Curupira”, 164-165.

⁹⁹ Pará, *Falla Dirigida pelo Exmo. Sr. Conselheiro Jeronimo Francisco Coelho, Presidente da Provincia do Gram Pará a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na Abertura da Segunda Sessão Ordinaria da Sexta Legislatura no Dia 1º de Outubro de 1849* (Belém: Typographia de Santos & Filhos, 1849), 22.

¹⁰⁰ APEP, *Leis e Decretos da Província do Grão-Pará, 1837-1838*, Law 12, April 25, 1838.

¹⁰¹ Pará, *Falla ... 1849*, 22; Óbidos, Archive of the Museu de Óbidos (AMO), Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, Letters from January 31, 1843, and April 11, 1848; Vigia, Sociedade 5 de Agosto-Cartório Raiol (5A-CR): *Livro de Termos de Conciliação, 1838-90*, pp. 49-65; Law 330, November 15, 1859, in Flavio Dos Santos Gomes, *Nas Terras do Cabo Norte: Fronteiras, Colonização, e Escravidão na Guiana Brasileira, Sécs. XVIII / XIX* (Belém: UFPA, 1999), 369.

down in 1854.¹⁰² The problem of marronage was gradually subsumed into the larger problem of controlling the autonomous activities of the rural population.¹⁰³ In 1856, for example, the Paraense president stated that marronage, rustling, and the agglomerations of rubber tappers were the “most notable” problems of public security.¹⁰⁴ Traditional Paraense families often disliked the rubber trade, although in the long term they would not be very successful in preventing it.

Increased revenues from the recovery of the plantations permitted the province to launch in the 1850s a large-scale offensive against some of the *mocambos* formed during the Cabanagem. In 1849 President Jerônimo Francisco Coelho approved an appropriation of 1.2 contos de réis to finance military expeditions against “the plague of *mocambos*” in Santarém and along the Turiaçu river. In July a force of 75 soldiers and 33 Mundurucu rangers was sent to capture the Santarém maroons, who fled to the Curuá river; only 11 were captured. Two years later the vessel *Cinco de Outubro* was stationed in Amapá because “some slaves fled from Macapá” to French Guiana. In 1852 the provincial president sent a force of 47 soldiers to Santarém because “the flight of slaves had become so frequent ... that this evil could double in size if energetic measures were not taken soon.”¹⁰⁵

President Do Rego Barros requested in 1853 that the municipal câmeras inform the government of the number and size of the *mocambos* present in their territories; in 1853 and 1854 he ordered armed actions against the maroons of Mocajuba, in the Lower Tocantins, and on the Trombetas river, near Óbidos, two of the largest concentrations of such settlements. In 1856

¹⁰² Goulart, *O Regatão*, 50-52.

¹⁰³ Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom*, 42-44.

¹⁰⁴ Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom*, 42-44.

¹⁰⁵ Pará, *Exposição ... 1856*, 108-109; Pará, *Relatorio do Presidente da Provincia do Gram Pará o Exmo. Snr. Dr. Fausto Augusto D'aguiar na Abertura Da Segunda Sessão Ordinaria da Setima Legislatura da Assembleia Provincial no dia 15 de Agosto de 1851* (Belém: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1851), 5; Pará, *Relatorio Apresentado ao Exmo. Snr. Dr. José Joaquim da Cunha, Presidente da Provincia do Gram Pará, Pelo Commendador Fausto Augusto 'Aguiar por Occasião de Entregar-lhe a Administração da Provincia no Dia 20 de Agosto de 1852* (Belém: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1852), 6. See also Pará, *Relatorio ... 1855, em 15 de Outubro* (Belém: ?, 1855), 8.

he urged his successor, Henrique de Beauperaire Rohan, to continue the campaign against the *mocambos*. However, he wished that Rohan had “more resources and ... less support and protection [for the *mocambos*] from some neighbors who communicate with them, whether out of fear or out of sordid interest.”¹⁰⁶ Perhaps as a result of that support and protection, some of the *quilombos* had achieved large dimensions: in 1863 the *quilombo* of São Domingos do Capim was attacked, this time successfully, capturing 116 escaped slaves, of whom 19 were minors.¹⁰⁷

As a result of these campaigns, by 1870 the number of *quilombos* had clearly decreased, especially near densely populated areas. But they did not disappear. Peripheral areas like the Gurupi river, on the border with the neighboring state of Maranhão; the Lower Amazon rivers (Trombetas, Curuá); and the territory of Amapá, continued to host runaway slaves by the hundreds.¹⁰⁸ The spatial distribution of maroon settlements that survived slavery is mostly explained by this wave of repression.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, access to trade and information networks was a fundamental feature of maroons’ existence. Runaway slaves learned survival strategies from the natives, built independent agricultural settlements, and maintained active channels of information and trade that were fundamental for their material existence and their protection against punitive expeditions.¹⁰⁹ Such networks explain why they were considered a threat to imperial borders and social stability during the revolutionary era, and why they intervened actively in the Cabanagem

¹⁰⁶ Pará, *Exposição...* 1856, 3-4.

¹⁰⁷ Pará, *Relatório Apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa da Província do Pará na Segunda Sessão da XIII Legislatura pelo Excellentíssimo Senhor Presidente da Província, Doutor Francisco Carlos de Araujo Brusque, em 1.º de Novembro de 1863* (Belém: Typ. de Frederico Carlos Rhossard, 1863), 90.

¹⁰⁸ Pará, *Relatório do Presidente da Província do Pará Doutor João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira Passando a Administração da Mesma ao 4º Vice-Presidente, Doutor Abel Graça*, (1870). and Salles, *O Negro na Formação da Sociedade Paraense*, 92-97.

¹⁰⁹ This perspective is also formulated in Alfredo Wagner Berno De Almeida, "Os Quilombos e as Novas Etnias," in *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica e Territorialidade*, ed. Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2002).

revolt. Only by keeping in mind the centrality of trade and information networks for maroon survival will we understand their actions in later periods, to which now we turn.

3.0 FREEDOM IN THE TROMBETAS RIVER, 1850-1920

The Trombetas river, one of the most important tributaries of the Amazon, has a rich history. Reaching the main course of the Amazon river halfway between the cities of Manaus and Belém, the Trombetas has long tributaries of its own, like the Mapuera, the Cachorro, the Velho, the Erepecuru, or the Acapu. In the sixteenth century Fray Gaspar de Carvajal stated that he had seen a fierce host of warrior women known as Amazons near its mouth, but the Trombetas remained mostly unexplored by Westerners during the colonial period due to its numerous waterfalls. It was precisely owing to those waterfalls or *cachoeiras* that the Trombetas became a “safe haven” to those who challenged the power of the colonial and national elites.¹ Like the Accompong Town maroon in Jamaica, the tropical forests of Suriname and the Guianas, or the seventeenth-century maroon of Palmares, in northeastern Brazil, this Amazon region can be considered one of those territories in the Americas where enslaved Africans sustained a protracted and frontal resistance to chattel slavery and, more broadly, to the colonial project of domination.² Two

¹ Such a perspective on the Trombetas was first formulated by José Luis Ruíz-Peinado, *Cimarronaje en Brasil: Mocambos del Trombetas* (Valencia, Spain: El Cep i la Nansa, 2003), based on the oral narratives of the Trombetas maroon descendants. “Safe haven” is from Flavio dos Santos Gomes and Sabina Gledhill, “A Safe Haven: Runaway Slaves, Mocambos, and Borders in Colonial Amazonia, Brazil,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, 3 (2002). See also Mark Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840* (Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 166, 171-172.

² Jean Besson, *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 2002), Chapter 3; Richard Price, *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983). On Palmares see Edison Carneiro, *O Quilombo dos Palmares* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1958); Pedro Pablo Funari and Aline Vieira de Carvalho, *Palmares Ontem e Hoje* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2005); Richard Price, “Palmares como

American travelers who visited the river in 1873 reported that “this part of the Trombetas has been, for years, the point for which all the runaway slaves of Brazil were accustomed to make, just as fugitive negroes from the United States used to turn their steps towards Canada.”³ They were exaggerating somewhat, but it is undeniable that the social, racial, historical, and cultural geography of the Trombetas has always been shaped by the presence of numerous *mocambos*.⁴

This chapter takes the maroons of the Trombetas river as a case study of marronage during the second half of the nineteenth century and the decades immediately after abolition, in 1888. Continuing the emphasis on channels of communication and exchange between maroons and the broader society sustained in Chapter 2.0, here I will focus on how the maroons used their relationships with Brazil nut merchants and with missionaries to gradually settle closer to population centers in the region. The idea of approximation is especially appropriate in this case, because it implies both a gradual increase in relations with the broader society and a movement of spatial approximation, as seen in the maroons’ move towards areas below the waterfalls of the Trombetas and Erepecuru rivers. I will then proceed to analyze the factors explaining settlement

Poderia ter Sido,” in *Liberdade por um Fio*, ed. Flavio Gomes and João José Reis (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996).

³ Charles Barrington Brown and William Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and Its Tributaries* (London: E. Stanford, 1878), 236.

⁴ On racial and historical geography, see Nancy P. Appelbaum, *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846-1948* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 33; Nicholas Blomley, “Landscapes of Property,” *Law & Society Review* 32, 3 (1998); Edward W. Soja, *Geografias Pós-Modernas: A Reafirmação do Espaço na Teoria Social Crítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1993). Studies about the Trombetas include Edna Castro and Rosa Acevedo, *Negros do Trombetas: Guardiães de Matas e Rios* (Belém: CEJUP-UFPA, 1998); Idaliana Marinho De Azevedo, *Puxirum: Memória dos Negros do Oeste Paraense* (Belém: Instituto de Artes do Pará, 2002); Eurípedes A. Funes, “Mocambos do Trombetas: Memória e Etnicidade (Séculos XIX e XX),” in *Os Senhores dos Rios: Amazônia, Margens e Histórias*, ed. Mary Del Priore, and Flávio Gomes (Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2003); Flavio dos Santos Gomes, “Etnicidade e Fronteiras Cruzadas nas Guianas (Sécs. XVIII-XX),” *Estudios Afroamericanos Virtual* 2 (2004); Eliane Cantarino O’Dwyer, “Os Quilombos do Trombetas e do Erepecurú-Cuminá” in *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica e Territorialidade*, ed. Eliane Cantarino O’Dwyer (Rio de Janeiro: ABA / FGV Editora, 2002); O’Dwyer, “Os Quilombos da Bacia do Rio Trombetas: Breve Histórico,” in *Terra de Quilombos*, ed. Eliane Cantarino O’Dwyer (Rio de Janeiro: ABA / CFCH - UFRJ, 1995); Ruíz-Peinado, *Cimarronaje en Brasil*; O’Dwyer, “Amazonía Negra,” in *La Amazonía Brasileña en Perspectiva Histórica*, ed. José Manuel Santos Pérez and Pere Petit (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006); Javier Laviña and José Luis Ruíz-Peinado, *Resistencias Esclavas en las Américas* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 2006); O’Dwyer, “Tiempos Afroindígenas en la Amazonia: Primera Mitad del Siglo XIX,” *Revista de Indias* LXX, 249 (2010).

after the abolition of slavery, arguing that the primary causes of the dispersed pattern of spatial arrangement of the *mocambeiros* after emancipation were commercial activities and kinship relations.⁵ Seasonal work rhythms and the calendar of religious festivals also played a role in explaining the high degree of mobility that can be seen among maroons in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

When the maroon communities moved to the lakes area, where most Brazil nut tree clusters were located, they sometimes registered land claims in the municipal land registry. Such an action is surprising, for it implies that very early in their incorporation to the broader society maroon-descendants had some notion about the importance of registering land deeds. I will argue that two elements explain the inscription of their land claims in the legal register: on one hand, they had learned the value of obtaining legal documents to support claims to property through their recent experiences as slaves and as maroons. On the other hand, they were starting to notice the arrival of Brazil nut merchants to the Trombetas river, a process that would eventually unfold into a large-scale dispute over land and extractive resources in the area.

⁵ It is contradictory to speak of maroons after the end of slavery, but in Óbidos, Oriximiná, and other cities of Baixo Amazonas the maroon-descendants have traditionally been known as “mocambeiros do Trombetas,” or sometimes “negros do Trombetas.”

3.1 UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE WATERFALLS, 1840-1870S

On July 7, 1857, Óbidos Councilman Ambrosio de Andrade Freire made a proposal to the Municipal Council:

It being beyond doubt [that] the decadent state of agriculture in this city [is] due to the lack of labor, aggravated by the repeated flight of slaves to the *mocambos* of the Trombetas river, I propose that this Camera communicate to the President [of Pará] the desirability of completely destroying those *mocambos* and removing the blacks, who have gathered there in great number. Whenever they want they wander the district with impunity, seducing and kidnapping the few slaves left, and causing numerous thefts. When the *mocambo* is completely destroyed the Government should build there a jailhouse, with the intent not only of preventing that slaves continue to go there, but also to encourage those who want to populate the rich areas that this river offers.⁶

This brief discourse contains some keys to understand the significance of maroons in the region of Baixo Amazonas during the second half of the nineteenth century, and to illustrate the different spheres of relations between the broader society and the maroons. Councilman Freire considered it “beyond doubt” that the existence of maroons had rendered “decadent ... agriculture in this city.” But what agriculture existed in Óbidos? While in the late 1700s most cacao in the Baixo Amazonas region was still collected in expeditions to the backlands using indigenous labor, cacao plantations with enslaved Africans gradually took over in the early nineteenth century. Óbidos became one of the leading cacao-producing counties in Pará, along with Santarem, Cametá, and other *municípios* of the Lower Tocantins region.⁷ Plantations were

⁶ Arquivo do Museu de Óbidos (henceforth AMO), Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, July 6, 1857.

⁷ Paul Le Cointe, *L'amazone Bresilienne: Le Pays-Ses Habitants, ses Ressources, Notes et Statistiques Jusqu'en 1920*, vol. 2 (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1934), 144; Pará, *Relatorio Lido pelo Exmo. Sr. Vice-Presidente da Provincia, Dr. Ambrosio Leitão da Cunha, na Abertura da Primeira Sessão Ordinaria da XI. Legislatura da*

on average small: a study of 183 slave crews in Baixo Amazonas during the second half of the 1800s showed that 45.9% of all crews had between 1 and 5 slaves, and another 27.3% consisted of slave crews of 6 to 10 individuals.⁸ Plantations with 5,000 to 15,000 cacao trees managed by a single family with the help of a few slaves were very common.⁹ A number of slaves were also employed in livestock farming around the Sapucaá and other lakes, notably cattle.¹⁰ Overall, Óbidos maintained itself as the second or third slaveholding city in Baixo Amazonas after Santarém: before the Cabanagem about 30% of its population (4,281 persons) was composed of slaves (1,294 persons); in 1883 there were still 971 slaves, but their percentage over the total population had dropped to less than 9%.¹¹ The rest of the population consisted mostly of peasants of mixed ethnic background scattered around the lakes and the rivers of the region; urban-based artisans; members of the military (Óbidos had had a large fort since the eighteenth century); and export merchants with their commercial agents, both itinerant and city-based. Finally, planters, a few state officials, and liberal professionals living in the city filled the ranks of the political and economic elite.

Coming back to Andrade Freire's 1857 discourse, what was the relation between the recurrence of maroons and the development of local agriculture? Since the late colonial period, it had proved difficult to impose coerced labor in the area. "During the time of the Directorate,

Assemblea Legislativa Provincial no Dia 15 de Agosto de 1858 (Belém: Typ. Commercial de Antonio José Rabello Guimarães, 1858), Mapa 39.

⁸ José Maia Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará: Sécs. XVII-XIX* (Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2001), 122.

⁹ Henry Walter Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (London: John Murray, 1892), 122-24, 38-40. Inglês de Souza, *O Cacauleta (Cenas da Vida no Amazonas)* (Belém: Universidade Federal do Pará, 1973 [1876]), 2; De Souza, *O Coronel Sangrado (Cenas da Vida no Amazonas)* (Belém: UFPA, 1968 (1877), 113; Pará, *Relatório Apresentado ao Exm. Senr. Dr. Francisco Maria Corrêa de Sá E Benevides Pelo Exm. Senr. Dr. Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, por Ocasião de Passar-lhe a Administração da Provincia do Pará, no Dia 17 de Janeiro de 1875* (Belém: Typ. de F.C. Rhossard, 1875), 543, A-XIV.

¹⁰ Domingos Soares Ferreira Penna, *A Região Occidental da Provincia do Pará: Resenhas Estatísticas das Comarcas de Obidos e Santarem Apresentadas a S. Exc. o Sr. Conselheiro José Bento da Cunha Figueiredo Presidente da Provincia* (Belém: Typographia do Diario de Belem, 1869), 21, 32.

¹¹ Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra*, 118; Vicente Salles, *O Negro no Pará sob o Regime da Escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas-Universidade Federal do Pará, 1971), 286, 299.

desertion, absenteeism, and flight were constant aspects of social life, impossible to prevent” in the directorate villages that existed in Óbidos and Alenquer.¹² Thus, while in the 1780s a village director complained of the formation of a *mocambo* of Indians in the Trombetas river, in 1799 local authorities reported on the formation of a “formidable *mocambo*” of slaves in the same area.¹³ In the following two decades a series of violent confrontations in the rivers of the area ensued between runaway slaves, local planters, and military expeditions. By the 1820s the maroons moved farther from the cities – this is the moment when the Trombetas became the home of large, stable runaway settlements. According to oral testimonies gathered in the 1870s and to Kaxúyana oral traditions surviving to the present, the establishment of new maroon camps was also related to the emigration of hostile indigenous groups, probably Mura.¹⁴ In 1822-23 a military expedition disbanded a *mocambo* in the Trombetas and captured Atanásio, a *carafuz* (person of mixed Indian and African descent) runaway slave who was present at the Cipotema and Inferno *quilombos* one year before.¹⁵ In 1827 the authorities again sent an expedition to the area, “capturing many slaves,” but “some always escaped, continuing to resist in the forest.”¹⁶

As in the rest of Pará, the Cabanagem revolt increased the number of maroons. Not only were many farms and plantations ransacked by the anti-Portuguese *cabanos*, but most inhabitants in the countryside fled to forts, towns, or camps to feel secure in the general turmoil of the

¹² Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon*, 166.

¹³ Captain of militia Lourenço Justiniano Siqueira to Lower Amazon military commander João Bernardes Borralho, December 24, 1801, in Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon*, 166.

¹⁴ Nineteenth-century oral accounts: João Barbosa Rodrigues, *Exploração e Estudo do Vale do Amazonas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1875), 16. Contemporary historical studies: Funes, “Mocambos do Trombetas,” 237; Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon*, 172; Ruiz-Peinado, “Tiempos Afroindígenas en la Amazonia,” 596-97. Contemporary oral narratives gathered in Joaquim Lima, “História dos Negros que qtravés da Luta Conseguiram Libertar-se dos Senhores de Escravos de Santarém, Pará,” (Oriximiná: José Luis Ruiz-Peinado personal collection, 1992), 5-10.

¹⁵ Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 232-33.

¹⁶ APEP, Fundo Segurança Pública, Correspondências dos Delegados e Subdelegados, Dionizio Pedro Auzier, Delegado de Policia, to Dr. José Joaquim Pimenta de Magalhães, Police Chief of Pará, January 14, 1854. Document facilitated by José Maia Bezerra Neto. Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 233-34.

period.¹⁷ Runaway slaves were probably not admitted into Ecuipiranga, the main rebel stronghold of the Lower Amazon, and *cabano* authorities did not abolish slavery. Instead, they maintained selected elements of the previous social order in the areas they controlled, slavery among them. Therefore, at least in theory there was no room for runaway slaves in *cabano*-controlled towns and camps, and the maroons of the Trombetas and nearby rivers must have looked like a convenient shelter for those fleeing from plantations and farms.

During the 1840s “the repeated flight of slaves to the *mocambos* of the Trombetas river” continued, and the runaway settlements became a significant issue at the state level. In 1853 and 1854 Governor of Pará Sebastião do Rego Barros launched an extensive offensive against *mocambos* throughout the state, demanding reports from local câmeras about the subject and providing funds for hiring *capitães do mato* or maroon- hunting specialists.¹⁸ Dionizio Pedro Auzier, Police Chief of Óbidos, replied to the provincial Chief of Police that in 1845 a local expedition reinforced with regular military forces from Santarém had been sent against the Trombetas maroons, apparently with little success.¹⁹ “From 1851 to the present the flight of slaves has been more frequent, due possibly to their certainty of not being pursued once they arrive at their *quilombos*,” given the local authorities’ lack of resources. That same year another councilman from Óbidos presented a motion “about the utility of destroying the maroons of the

¹⁷ Harris, *Rebellion on the Amazon*, 226-27.

¹⁸ Pará, *Exposição Apresentada pelo Exmo. Senr. Conselheiro Sebastião do Rego Barros, Presidente da Provincia do Gram-Pará, ao Exmo. Senr Tenente Coronel D'engenheiros Henrique De Beaurepaire Rohan, no Dia 29 de Maio de 1856, por Occasião de Passar-lhe a Administração da Mesma Provincia* (Belém: Typ. de Santos e Filhos, 1856), 3. and AMO, Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, January 1, 1854. See Law 241, December 30, 1853, and also Law 99, July 3, 1841; Law 137, April 27, 1847; Law 153, November 29, 1848; Law 218, November 16, 1851, in Flavio dos Santos Gomes, *Nas Terras do Cabo Norte: Fronteiras, Colonização, e Escravidão na Guiana Brasileira, Sécs. XVIII / XIX* (Belém: UFPA, 1999), 353, 355, 357, 358, 361.

¹⁹ It is unclear whether the letter narrating the results of the expedition refers to the Mamiá or to the Trombetas maroon. APEP, Secretaria da Presidência da Província do Grão-Pará, Correspondências das Câmaras Municipais, Dionizio Pedro Auzier, Delegado de Policia, to Dr. José Joaquim Pimenta de Magalhães, Police Chief of Pará, January 14, 1854. Document facilitated by José M. Bezerra Neto.

Trombetas river.”²⁰ In 1852 another expedition was sent but had to turn back due to disease. It is possible that this was an intoxication of *timbó*, a plant used to catch fish by poisoning the water, and occasionally employed to defeat enemy expeditions.²¹

The most notable anti-maroon expedition was the 1855 attempt to locate and destroy Maravilha, a stable encampment where members of many communities had settled with the intent of resisting punitive expeditions. On October 1855 the expedition left Óbidos led by Maximiano de Souza and 190 more men, including regular troops and Mundurucu rangers with their Tuxaua or chief.²² For four days the expedition chased maroons to no avail, losing 48 soldiers to desertion. On the fifth day they captured the old maroon Benedicto. He provided valuable information on the precise location of Maravilha, the 70 individuals of both sexes living there, and their commercial relationships with Indians of the Cachorro river.²³ De Souza led the troops to the encampment, but again he failed: they had run away to the forest thanks to the network of sentries that they maintained.²⁴ De Souza explained that the settlement had 36 palm-thatched huts built with daub upon latticed frames of wood, which the maroons burned before leaving, except for the chapel. Upon the return of the troops to Óbidos the maroons allied with an indigenous group to poison the river water by throwing large amounts of *timbó*.²⁵ Attacking hamlets that were closely guarded and poised for flight; facing desertion, poisoning, tropical fevers and, most frustrating, defeat. This was a common end for many maroon-tracking expeditions.

²⁰ AMO, Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, July 8, 1851.

²¹ José Luis Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla, Ataque y Defensa de un Mocambo en la Amazonía," in *Relaciones Sociales e Identidades en América*, ed. Gabriela Dalla Corte, et al. (Barcelona: Edicions de la UB, 2002), 118.

²² A written account of the expedition is discussed in detail and compared to the oral tradition in Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla." Also Euripedes Funes, "Nasci nas Matas, Nunca Tive Senhor": História e Memória dos Mocambos do Baixo Amazonas" (PhD Dissertation, FFLCH / USP, 1995), 167-183.

²³ Funes, "Nasci nas Matas", 171.

²⁴ Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla," 117.

²⁵ Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla," 118.

The failed attempt to destroy Maravilha made Governor Do Rego Barros aware of the low prospects for success of war-based strategies. Somewhat bitterly he wished to his successor in May 1856 “that you may be more successful than I have been ... having more resources and finding less support and protection [for the maroons] from some neighbors that communicate with them, whether from fear or from sordid self-interest.”²⁶ The possibility of anticipating their enemies’ moves made the maroons tough opponents, as former Governor João Maria de Moraes noted in 1845. “Owing to the scarcity of safe and reliable guides, the punitive expeditions are not fast and discrete enough,” which caused the runaways to be “soon warned against them, thus beating them [the expeditions] most of the time.”²⁷

Despite the continuation of occasional confrontations between maroons and inhabitants of Óbidos,²⁸ or perhaps owing to them, President Joaquim Raimundo de Lamare took office in 1866 and considered trying a different approach: sending missionaries. Manipulating a different sphere of relations between the state and the maroons in order to rein them in could be an intelligent strategy in light of the gradual changes taking place in the Trombetas area. Some peasants seeking to exploit its natural wealth (turtle eggs, Brazil nuts, cattle pastures) started to settle its shores, where suitable land for manioc and fruit agriculture was also available.²⁹ It was also rumored that itinerant merchants had established substantial commercial ties with the

²⁶ Pará, *Exposição ... 1856*, 3.

²⁷ Pará, *Discurso Recitado pelo Exmo. Sñr Doutor João Maria de Moraes, Vice-Presidente da Provincia do Pará na Abertura da Segunda Sessão da Quarta Legislatura da Assembléa Provincial do Dia 15 de Agosto de 1845* (Belém: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1845), 4.

²⁸ Pará, *Relatorio ... 1858*, 7.

²⁹ See for example AMO, *Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858*, July 8, 1850; January 11, 1851; January 7, 1873; July 9, 1873; Domingos Soares Ferreira Penna, *Obras Completas de Domingos Soares Ferreira Penna*, ed. Conselho Estadual de Cultura, vol. II (Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1971), 18-21, 31-32.

maroons. In addition, new studies were being produced about the economic prospects of the region.³⁰

Thus, in 1867 Capuchin Father Carmelo de Mazzarino, who believed that “the only mighty force that could reach the *mocambeiros* is the Gospel,” was sent by the Pará government to the Trombetas with the goal of creating a mission to pacify the *mocambeiros*.³¹ The local town council rapidly followed suit, sending an envoy to accompany Mazzarino and providing extra funding for the mission.³² He witnessed the *mocambeiros*’ complex systems of security: the secret drumming codes upon the arrival of travelers to the Porteira waterfall, which signaled the entrance into maroon-controlled territory, and his brief stay with Florenciano, a black peasant living below the waterfalls who was in permanent communication with the maroons.³³ Despite their initial hesitation, Mazzarino was eventually allowed to establish himself among the *mocambeiros*. No mission was ever built in the Trombetas, due to the maroons’ refusal to accept one, but Mazzarino baptized numerous children and married many adults in the communities of the Campiche *igarapé*, near the ruins of Maravilha, where the *mocambeiros* had constructed a small chapel. He also advised them to move downriver below the waterfalls, but only a few *mocambeiros* did so, because fear of new re-enslaving expeditions was still widespread.³⁴ Finally, he served as an intermediary between the maroons and the provincial government to

³⁰ A. C. Tavares Bastos, *O Vale do Amazonas: A Livre Navegação do Amazonas, Estatística, Produção, Comércio, Questões Fiscais do Vale do Amazonas* (São Paulo: Editora Nacional, 1975 [1866]). Bastos visited Óbidos in 1865. Also Penna, *A Região Occidental*.

³¹ Quotation from Letter from Frei Carmello Mazzarino, January 15, 1868, in Funes, “Nasci nas Matas”, 185. See also President Joaquim Raimundo de Lamare to provincial deputy Domingos Soares Penna, in Funes, “Nasci nas Matas”, 185, and especially José Luis Ruíz-Peinado, “Misioneros en el Río Trombetas: La Subida del Padre Carmelo de Mazzarino,” *Boletín Americanista* 54 (2004).

³² AMO – Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, October 8, 1867.

³³ Ruíz-Peinado, “Misioneros en el Río Trombetas,” 190, 192. Ruíz-Peinado’s source is the interviews made to two different Trombetas maroons by Father Guntar Portásio Friel in 1945.

³⁴ Ruíz-Peinado, “Misioneros en el Río Trombetas,” 191-94. On the fear of re-enslavement in the 1860s and 1870s, Brown and Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles*, 232; Rodrigues, *Exploração e Estudos*, 35.

negotiate an agreement for their peaceful incorporation to the nation. Aware that during the Paraguayan War emancipation had been promised to those who joined the Brazilian army,³⁵ the maroons acceded to settle as free men under two conditions. First, they would be exempt from recruitment for the war. Second, they would have four years to pay 300 *milréis* to their former masters in exchange for their manumission – the elderly would pay somewhat less. Were these conditions not respected, they threatened to resettle in Dutch Guiana, where slavery had already been abolished.³⁶

The provincial government rejected this compromise: on October 31, 1870, Canon Manuel José de Siqueira Mendes, a leader of the Conservative Party, signed Law 653, authorizing the destruction of all *mocambos*.³⁷ This decision was probably due to the pressure exerted by the slave-owning elite, who rejected negotiation with the maroons. In spite of the failure to reach an agreement, however, Mazzarino's time spent with the maroons is indicative that times were changing. The maroons' proposal to settle as free men and end hostilities with planters and farmers indicates that after years of armed confrontation and resistance, there was a willingness to achieve peace under certain conditions, namely maintaining autonomy.

While Mazzarino's expedition showed that common ground could be reached between the maroons and local elites, these drew yet another lesson. In 1877 Father Nicolino de Sousa conducted three expeditions to the Erepecuru river to find a way to the *campos gerais* or large prairies supposed to exist above the waterfalls. Using the *mocambeiros* as sources of information and guides to navigate the river, he sought to "promote the catechizing and reduction of the

³⁵ André Amaral de Toral, "A Participação dos Negros Escravos da Guerra do Paraguai," *Estudos Avançados* 9, 24 (1995), 292.

³⁶ Frei Carmelo de Mazzarino to President Joaquim Raimundo de Lamare, January 15, 1868, in Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 235.

³⁷ Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 235.

Indians of the region.”³⁸ Like Mazzarino, De Sousa was accepted in the maroon communities of the Erepecuru river and could employ some maroons as pilots to find his way through the waterfalls. Both his expedition and Mazzarino’s proved that the maroons were the most knowledgeable, and perhaps the only, guides and rangers of the Trombetas and Erepecuru rivers beyond the *cachoeiras*. Any attempts at colonizing those areas and appropriating its resources would have to build on their knowledge of the territory. As the maroons continued to deploy their strategies of subsistence in the following decades, the expansion of clandestine commercial arrangements, another fundamental sphere of relations between maroon communities and the broader society, would make this fact even more evident.

3.2 EXCHANGING GOODS, EXCHANGING FUTURES

Between the destruction of Maravilha in 1855, and the *mocambos*’ gradual migration below the waterfalls starting in the 1870s, known maroon settlements in the Trombetas included those at the igarapés Campiche, Poana, Turuna, and the hamlet of Maravilha. Along the Erepecuru, maroons formed settlements at Santa Luzia (igarapé Penecura), at Quilombo do Torino (Mel waterfalls), and in smaller places like Santana and Figênia (Figure 3.1). There is also evidence that by the mid-nineteenth century the Trombetas *mocambeiros* maintained close relations with those living in the Inferno and Cipotema settlements on the Curuá river, a few miles east of the

³⁸ Nicolino José Rodrigues de Sousa, *Diário das Três Viagens (1877-1878-1882) do Revmo. Padre Nicolino José Rodrigues de Sousa ao Rio Cuminá* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1946), 6,8,9.

Óbidos county.³⁹ As can be seen on [Figure 3.1](#), the destruction of Maravilha after the 1855 expedition led the Trombetas *mocambeiros* to spread further along the river.

It is impossible to establish the number of maroons in the Trombetas and Erepecuru rivers with precision. In January 1854 the Police Chief of Óbidos calculated that “more than one hundred and fifty [maroons] of both sexes” existed in the Trombetas; three years later a Portuguese explorer argued that they were “no less than 300.”⁴⁰ Considering that in Maravilha alone there were 36 houses, Maximiano de Souza’s calculation of 70 inhabitants for that hamlet seems low. A more reliable estimate, based on the high fertility rate of the rural population, would lead to a population of between 120 and 200 individuals in Maravilha. This is more realistic, considering the 156 runaways (20% of them, children) living in the Inferno *mocambo* on the neighboring Curuá river.⁴¹ If we add other maroon groups on the Trombetas and the Erepecuru, the total on both rivers could range between a minimum of 400 and a maximum of 700. Such an estimate is close to the Santarém council’s calculation of “three to four hundred of both sexes and different ages” in 1862, and to Orville Derby’s calculation of “several hundred” in 1871, but far from Tavares Bastos’ exaggeration of 2000 in 1865.⁴² In any case, these are high numbers of runaways for a county that had 1,138 slaves and 8,970 free inhabitants in 1872.⁴³

³⁹ Ruiz-Peinado, “Maravilla,” 114, using a narrative collected by Protasio Friel in 1945.

⁴⁰ APEP, FSP, CDS, Dionizio Pedro Auzier, Delegado de Polícia, to Dr. José Joaquim Pimenta de Magalhães, Police Chief of Pará, January 14, 1854; Letter from Óbidos Police Station, February 9, 1858.

⁴¹ Funes, “Nasci nas Matas”, 193.

⁴² Santarém Council to the President of the Province, August 9, 1862, quoted in Funes, “Nasci nas Matas”, 176; Bastos, *O Vale do Amazonas*, 119-120; Orville Derby, “O Rio Trombetas,” *Boletim do Museu Paraense de Historia Natural e Ethnographia* 2, 5 (1898): 369-370.

⁴³ Biblioteca Eletrônica IBGE - *Recenseamento do Brasil em 1872* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 1872), 192; Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 286.

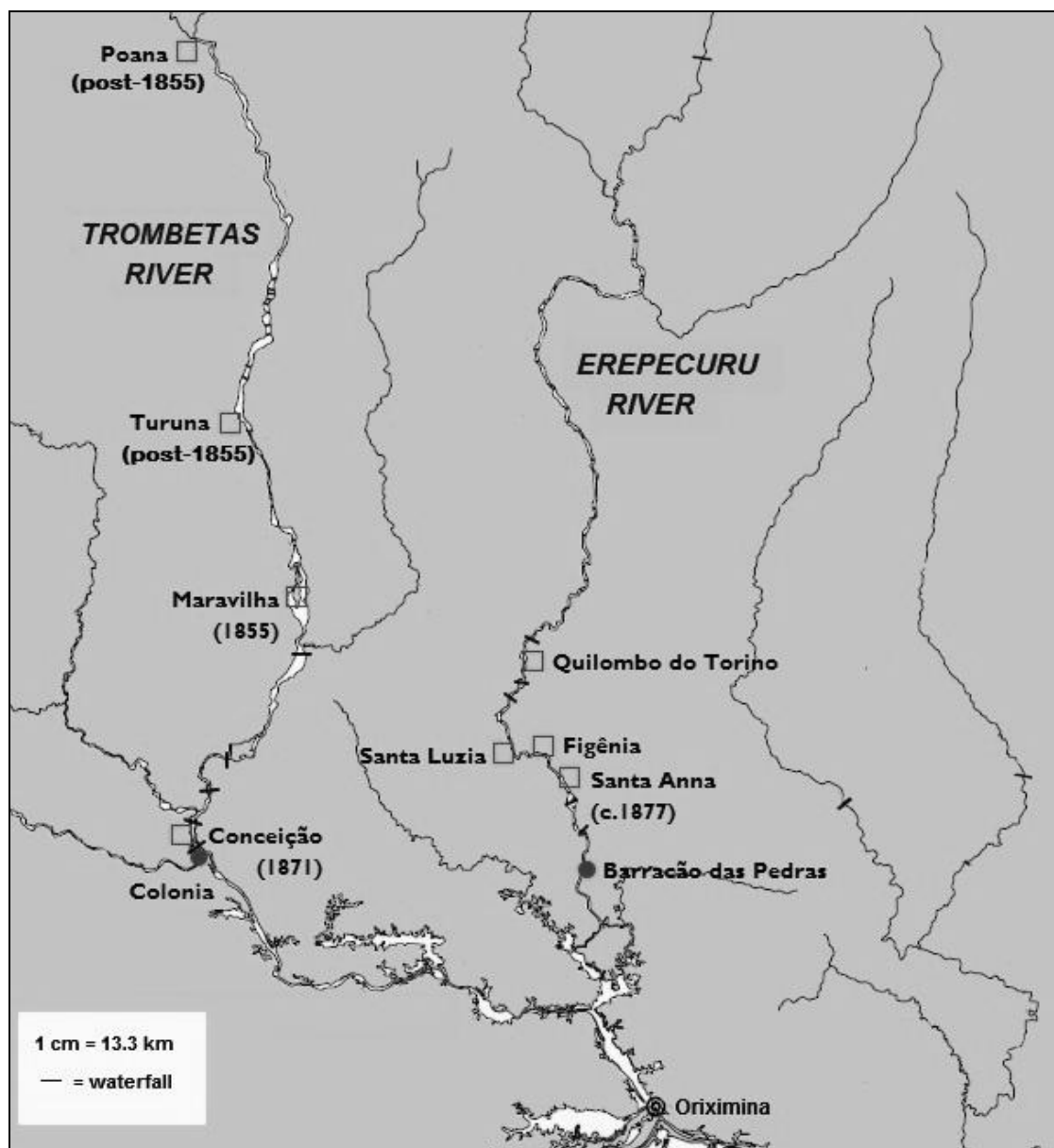


Figure 3.1. Maroons in the Trombetas and Erepecuru rivers before 1888⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Source: Prepared by the author using information from Otille Coudreau, *Voyage au Cuminá: 20 Avril 1900 - 7 Setembre 1900* (Paris: Lahure, 1901), 21-22, 55; Gastão Cruls, *A Amazônia que Eu Vi: Óbidos - Tumucumaque* (Rio de Janeiro: ?, 1930), 61; De Azevedo, *Puxirum: Memória dos Negros do Oeste Paraense*, 92; Derby, "O Rio Trombetas," 370; De Sousa, *Diário das Três Viagens*, 18, 35; Funes, "Mocambos do Trombetas," 244, 46; Funes, "Nasci nas Matas," 172; Lima, "História dos Negros," 4-8; O'Dwyer, "Os Quilombos," 53-59; Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla," 118.

While the arrival of the missionaries Mazzarino and Nicolino had permitted contact with maroon communities, ties to commercial agents formed a second sphere of relations. However, this sphere of interaction was beyond the control of local authorities. Commercial agents broke the monopoly of masters over the supply of material goods and wealth, as explained in Chapter 1.0 , debilitating the masters' power. In 1850, for example, an Óbidos councilman argued that the state government should ban the activities of itinerant merchants (*regatões*) because many "masters have lost slaves, dead or drunk due to the cane liquor purchased from *regatões*." Clandestine trade also stimulated the emergence of the slaves' internal economy: "Is the theft of cacao not widely introduced among our slaves? Can anybody doubt that the *regatões* have caused this and other evils plaguing our formerly flourishing county?"⁴⁵ The merchants' activities allowed not only the slaves, but also the maroons, to improve their material status. Such interactions appear clearly by the time of the assault on Maravilha, in 1855. While heading to the Porteira waterfall the expedition ran into a group of four maroons who were traveling downriver to purchase supplies in Óbidos.⁴⁶ As the Óbidos police chief had explained to state authorities the previous year, "during May and June the maroons descend" from the *mocambos* "to purchase gunpowder and weapons." In January 1857 it was reported again that, "taking advantage of the people's coming to the city during the holidays ... the Trombetas blacks ... had come for supplies."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ AMO, Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, July 8, 1850.

⁴⁶ See narrative gathered in 1945 by Protásio Frikel, in Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla," 115, and the account written by the expedition commander in 1875, Funes, "Nasci nas Matas", 170-172.

⁴⁷ APEP, FSP, CDS, João Antonio Nunes to José Joaquim Pimenta, January 15, 1854; Police Chief of Óbidos João Baptista Gonzalez Campos to Romualdo de S. Paes d'Andrade, January 9, 1857.

If the maroons did not descend, then the itinerant merchants would visit them. On April 9, 1858, Ambrosio de Andrade Freire, the author of the abovementioned proposal to build a jail in the Trombetas, again denounced how “the colonists sent by the government ... far from employing themselves in agriculture ... travel around this district becoming merchants, and ... there is not the slightest doubt that they do business with slaves[,] specially with those living in *quilombos* along the Trombetas river.”⁴⁸ Four years later the Santarém council requested more funds from the governor to finance expeditions against the Curuá and Trombetas maroons. A councilor explained how thanks to the merchants the “blacks” had access to “all they need, including cloth, salt, gunpowder, and weapons.”⁴⁹ In an 1865 travel account written for the state government, Brazilian naturalist Ferreira Penna also explained how “the largest amount and the best quality” of tobacco “that appears in Óbidos markets comes from the Trombetas river maroons.” His source for this information was the “*regatões* and other pilots who, in the pursuit of commerce, have reached the waterfalls and even beyond.”⁵⁰

In 1873, after Frei Mazzarino’s visit, botanist João Barbosa Rodrigues explained in a travel account about the region how the maroons “started to come, even during the day and in sight of the authorities, and they not only buy and sell but also bring their children to the parish to be baptized, boldly stating that they are *mocambistas*.” Rodrigues saw “some of their canoes” at the Óbidos port, and added that “some [maroons] stayed in my house during the day. It is no longer surprising to see them disembarking in full daylight. What *is* surprising is to see how they meet with their [former] masters, asking for their blessing and leaving in peace.” By then he was also aware that between February and April the Erepecu lake “is a meeting point for *regatões*

⁴⁸ AMO, Livro de Atas das Sessões da Camara Municipal, 1858-1872, April 9, 1858.

⁴⁹ Santarém Camera to President of the Province, August 9, 1862, in Funes, “Nasci nas Matas”, 176.

⁵⁰ Penna, *A Região Occidental*, 19, 171.

who go there ... to purchase the fruits of the mocambistas' labor, who in those months come down from the waterfalls to gather Brazil nuts for the merchants.”⁵¹

In sum, the maroons' commercial activities played a fundamental role in their economic strategies while hiding from slaveholders and their armed expeditions. This relationship developed gradually, but became very visible by the 1870s. Gaining access to manufactured items on a regular basis became a necessary risk: how could the maroons make a life without items as necessary as salt, sugar, coffee, cloth, soap, or steel tools? In addition, the commercialization of Brazil nuts and other extractive items such as copahiba oil had the potential to be a viable activity under freedom. Eventually this would even allow the maroons to create stable hamlets based on family labor once slavery was gone in 1888, as will be shown next.

3.3 MAROONS WITHOUT SLAVERY: 1888-C.1930

In Brazil slavery was abolished in 1888. While it was celebrated with a party at the Barracão de Pedra on the Erepecuru river by those who lived in communities along its banks,⁵² emancipation does not seem to have impacted profoundly the memories of most maroon descendants. Rather, the change from slavery to freedom was a gradual process of leaving their hideouts to establish new communities below the waterfalls, thus accepting tacitly to become lawful citizens. Such a significant displacement started with the foundation of the settlement called Colônia after Father

⁵¹ Barbosa Rodrigues, *Exploração e Estudo do Vale do Amazonas*, 27, 16.

⁵² Lima, "História dos Negros," 10.

Mazzarino's visit in 1867, and was further stimulated by the Brazil nut trade. Figure 3.2 shows years in which we know that given communities existed, either because they were visited by explorers (botanist Barbosa Rodrigues in 1875, British geologist Charles Brown in 1878, etc.), or because a maroon-descendant with a known date of birth was born there. While by the mid-1870s there were early settlements in lakes like Juquiry and Tapagem, usually related to the trade in Brazil nuts, by the 1900s a number of communities had formed below the waterfalls.

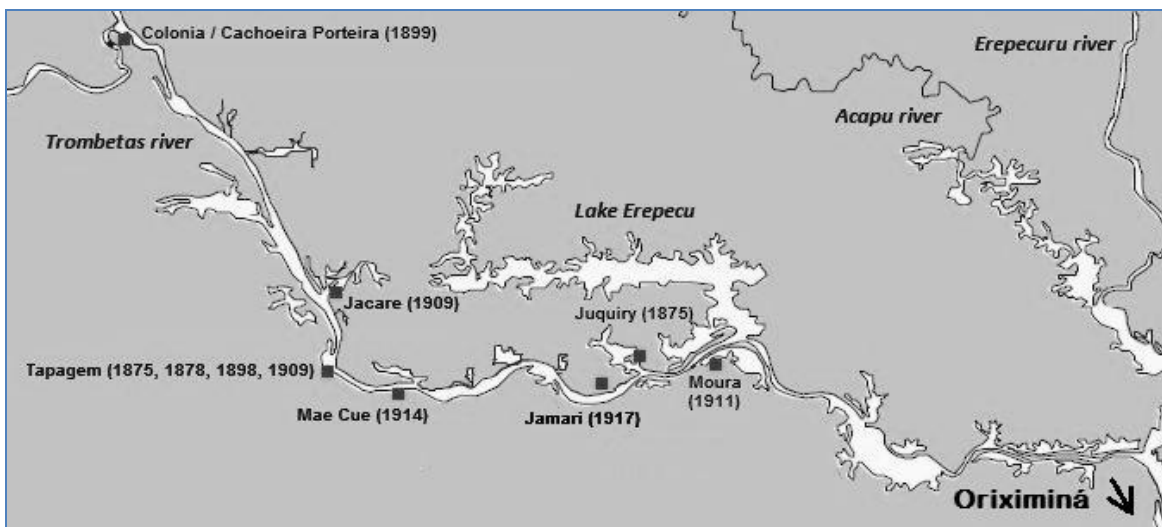


Figure 3.2. Maroon Settlements in the Trombetas River, Late 1800s-Early 1900s⁵³

Despite that these hamlets were formed by one or more large family groups, settlement was characterized by dispersion, flexibility, and a high degree of geographic mobility across different communities, connected usually through family networks. Dona Zuleide is a maroon-descendant

⁵³ Some communities are missing, either because there is no specific data about their origins (Boa Vista, for example), or because they were settled later (Abui, Nova Amizade). Others, like Lake Arrozal or Jacaré disappeared later. Data from Barbosa Rodrigues, *Exploração e Estudo do Vale do Amazonas*, 20, 121; Brown and Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles*, 276; Otille and Henri Coudreau, *Voyage Au Trombetas: 7 Août 1899 - 25 Novembre 1899* (Paris: Lahure, 1900): 16; Derby, "O Rio Trombetas," 369-370; Adolpho Ducke, "Explorações Científicas no Estado do Pará," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi* 7 (1909), 159-60; Funes, "Mocambos do Trombetas," 237, 244, 247, 251.

woman born in 1955 and currently residing in the Boa Vista community. “By the time they ran away [from slavery],” her grand-grandparents “lived above the Porteira Waterfalls, in the Turuna *igarapé*,” a known maroon settlement. “After freedom came, they descended from the *mocambos*” to form communities like Tapagem, where her grandparents established themselves. Years later, her mother and her father met around 1935 and moved to the Abui lake to work as Brazil nut workers.⁵⁴

Another migratory circuit was followed by the descendants of Maria Peruana, one of the founders of a lineage split between the Erepecuru and the Trombetas.⁵⁵ Married to Lautério or Lothário, she lived above the waterfalls by the late 1800s and had six children, among them Maria do Rosário. Maria do Rosário married Basílio (we do not know when) and raised their children and grandchildren in the Erepecuru itself, where they had manioc grounds, cultivated cacao, and distilled brandy.⁵⁶ At some point, Maria’s son Antonio Maria do Rosario moved to the Erepecu lake, in the Trombetas river, where he resided and registered a land claim (*posse*) in 1898.⁵⁷ One of Antonio’s siblings later fathered João Souza Figueiredo, or Pinduca, in 1933, who was still living on the Erepecu lake in 1992.

Another branch of Maria do Rosário’s descendants migrated from the Erepecuru river to the Tapagem lake, in the Trombetas. Once there, her daughter or perhaps granddaughter Benedita married Sebastião Cordeiro da Silva, born in 1882 and who had descended at some

⁵⁴ Interview, Valério and Zuleide Melo (born 1955), Boa Vista community, May 26, 2009.

⁵⁵ Lima, “História dos Negros,” 4.

⁵⁶ Funes, “Mocambos do Trombetas,” 240.

⁵⁷ João de Palma Muniz, ed., *Estado do Pará: Secretaria de Estado de Obras Publicas Terras e Viação: Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras* (Belem: Imprensa Official, 1907), 207. Despite that certain family names repeat themselves again and again in the Trombetas and Erepecurú communities, I have taken a conservative approach when cross-referencing names between different documents and interviews. Extensive and proven family trees in the Trombetas are the Dos Santos, De Jesus, Cordeiro, Xavier, Da Silva, Do Carmo, Pereira de Jesus, Da Conceição, Do Espírito Santo, Macaxeira, Regis, and Printes families. In the Erepecurú, Melo, Figueiredo, Oliveira, Almeida, Dos Santos, and Pinheiro are longstanding family trees. I thank anthropologist Julia Sauma for her personal communication on this subject.

point from the *mocambos*. In 1907 their son Raimundo da Silva Cordeiro, also known as Donga, was born. He resided at Tapagem until his passing away in 1994.⁵⁸ Sometimes, as in Maria do Rosário's case, the descendants migrated to new hamlets below the waterfalls, but the ancestors stayed in settlements above them. In 1992 Argemiro Vieira dos Santos resided on the Abui lake and was interviewed by Brazilian historian Euripedes Funes. Argemiro's grandparents Conceição José and Maria do Espírito Santo were born in the Turuna and Campiche maroon hamlets. Argemiro was born in 1920 in a place called Cachorro, probably at the mouth of the Cachorro tributary of the Trombetas, above the Porteira waterfall. In 1928 his father moved to Tapagem lake, probably attracted by better economic prospects, but José and Maria stayed at Cachorro and passed away shortly afterwards.⁵⁹

In sum, geographic mobility along family and economic networks was frequent among maroons of the Trombetas and the Erepecuru rivers. Another factor animating the ex-maroons to move around was the frequent religious festivals, often linked to the agricultural calendar. In the community of Jamarý (Erepecuru river), for example, Saint Anthony's Day (September 24) used to be celebrated with a big party that attracted residents from many other communities. At lake Tapagem Saint Sebastian was also celebrated with a festival on January 19 and 20, at the beginning of the Brazil nut season.⁶⁰ These parties consisted of a procession of the saint by the

⁵⁸ Donga became a notable community leader. The Cordeiro da Silva's genealogical tree may be found at Instituto de Terras do Pará, henceforth ITERPA, Process Autos de Medição Leonardo, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1924, and also at De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 76-77, 82.

⁵⁹ Funes, "Mocambos do Trombetas," 252. Cachorro could be an alternative name for Colônia.

⁶⁰ Interview with Zé do Carmo (born 1934), Jamarý community, May 27, 2009; Interview with Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro (born 1925), Tapagem community, June 5, 2009; Interview with Manoel Francisco Cordeiro Xavier (born 1934), Tapagem community, June 5, 2009. Contrast to interview with Antônio Pereira de Jesus, Jamarý community, born 1903, in De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 246.

houses of the *mocambeiros*, while donations of food and beverages were given. The party then continued late into the night, with abundant homemade food and drink.⁶¹

Otille Coudreau witnessed one of these parties at the Barracão das Pedras, on the Erepecuru river, in 1900. “The *pagode* lasts ordinarily for nine days, [because they sang *novenas* every day]. Mixing the sacred and the profane, they sing in front of the saint whose party is celebrated. The Saint is in his niche presiding over the orgy.”⁶² Two years before Orville Derby had also described how the descendants of the *mocambeiros* “have a small chapel at Conceição, and show very proudly saints made of tree trunks. They celebrate their sanctified days with all possible splendor, and a Father who entered the *quilombo* some years ago [most probably Mazzarino] was enthusiastically received.”⁶³ The *mocambeiros* and their descendants did celebrate religious holidays enthusiastically: on January 2, 1931, Olympio Magno da Silveira (sometimes Da Silva), a resident of the Terra Preta hamlet at the Cuminá river, “celebrated a *ladainha*” or collective religious party with music in his house, followed by a dance.”⁶⁴ That night a farm worker who lived nearby started a fight that resulted in a police investigation days later. Ten individuals who had attended the festival testified to the Judge in Oriximiná: they came from places as distant as the Acapuzinho river, the Trombetas, the Erepecu lake, and the Serrinha hamlet, near Terra Preta, the place where Da Silveira resided. Not all festivals were so successful, but to be sure large numbers of *mocambeiros* attended many of them, traveling for hours and crossing rivers and lakes to practice their faith and celebrate. While visiting the maroon-descendant community of Pacoval, in the Curuá river, Otille Coudreau stated in 1900

⁶¹ Interview with Manoel Francisco Cordeiro Xavier (born 1934), Tapagem community, June 5, 2009.

⁶² Coudreau, *Voyage au Cuminá*, 21-22. Parties lasting for nine days were also observed by Frei Protásio Friel in 1945. Ruíz-Peinado, “Misioneros En El Río Trombetas,” 192.

⁶³ Derby, “O Rio Trombetas,” 37.

⁶⁴ Cartório Ferreira, Óbidos (henceforth CF), Justiça Pública v. Philomeno Pinto da Silva, José Lopes, and Raymundo Fragata, 1931.

that “the dance hall is indispensable in a black community. They could live without food or clothing, but it would be impossible to live without festivals.” In a sarcastic tone she described how “each black dances ... for the saint who is his patron ... in big parties, small parties, and even when there are no parties, they make them up.”⁶⁵

The freedom to move around once slavery and the persecution of the *mocambos* were over also translated into the broader dispersion of family groups. As stated above, some families joined new communities; others settled alone or at the fringes of new hamlets, forming *sítios*, or farms. Security was no longer a necessity, and defense did not impose any organizational obligations upon the *mocambeiros*, who despite abolition were still designated with the same words by those who visited or who lived in the region. Characterized by dispersion, the new settlement pattern explains why some observers considered that their numbers were lower than they had been under slavery. Otille Coudreau, for example, identified the *mocambeiros* living at the Colônia settlement and described how “about fifty of these *mocambeiros* still live today as peacefully and as miserably,” i.e., in as much poverty, as under slavery.⁶⁶ She also noticed the “relatively numerous shacks” on both shores as she navigated the lakes inhabited by the *mocambeiros*, and also the cacao trees around their houses, both symptoms of the new, scattered pattern of residence.⁶⁷ Nine years later, Paraense scientist Adolpho Ducke observed in the same spot how “the last inhabitants [of the river] are those living at the ‘Colônia,’ right under the Porteira waterfall (...) more descendants of the ancient ‘mucambo’ are spread further downriver, at [lakes] Arrozal and Tapaginha.” At Abui lake, “the few residents in this portion of the river

⁶⁵ Otille Coudreau, *Voyage au Rio Curuá: 20 Novembre 1900-7 Mars 1901* (Paris: Lahure, 1903), 20; De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 53-57.

⁶⁶ Otille Coudreau, *Voyage au Trombetas: 7 Août 1899 - 25 Novembre 1899* (Paris: Lahure, 1900), 16.

⁶⁷ Coudreau, *Voyage au Trombetas*, 15-19.

are the remnants of the *mucambeiros* and their descendants, today perhaps about 30 people.”⁶⁸ Only Derby, who unlike Coudreau and Ducke showed some respect and cast a non-racist gaze upon the maroons, argued that “at present time there must be many hundreds of them at the Trombetas and the Cuminá [i.e. Erepecuru].”⁶⁹ In the 1920s visiting scientists Gastão Cruls and Peter Paul Hilbert continued to notice the presence of maroon-descendants and to identify them as such.⁷⁰

The cacao plantings around the maroons’ houses indicate that a combination of slash-and-burn agriculture and diversified orchards continued to be the basis of their economy. Manioc continued to be fundamental in their family units. But property titles from this period show how manioc was accompanied by other crops like cacao, corn, fruit trees, bananas and coffee.⁷¹ Former maroon Benedicto Pinheiro sold his *posse* to Brazil nut merchant Manoel Costa in 1910. By then it had probably been occupied for some years by his family. “Some manioc, corn, rice, beans, sugarcane, small-scale livestock industry [“*pequenna industria pastoril*”] and Brazil nuts” had been cultivated there. The deed also detailed that “improvements made in the property are: a thatched roof hut (...), some fruit trees, corrals, and paths into the forest.”⁷² Agriculture was complemented by hunting and fishing, and by the commercialization of numerous forest items, mainly Brazil nuts, as shown in the next section.

That maroon lands appear in land sale deeds and in *posse* (land possession, as opposed to formal title) deeds means two things. First, that maroon-descendants sometimes went to

⁶⁸ Ducke, “Explorações Científicas no Estado do Pará,” 159-160 and 66-67.

⁶⁹ Derby, “O Rio Trombetas,” 37.

⁷⁰ Cruls, *A Amazônia que Eu Vi*, 31, 34; Peter Paul Hilbert, *A Cerâmica Arqueológica da Região de Oriximiná* (Belém: Instituto de Antropologia e Etnologia do Pará, 1955), 2, 10, 17-18.

⁷¹ ITERPA, Autos de Medição “Sucuriú,” Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1919; CF, Autos de Medição Judicial de Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1933; ITERPA, Autos de Medição “Tres Barracas” ou “São Braz”, Theodora Gonçalves de Lima, 1923; ITERPA, Autos de Medição “Ponta da Gentia,” Manoel Costa e Companhia, 1922.

⁷² ITERPA, São Benedito, Manoel Costa e Companhia, 1923.

Oriximiná to register their land claims or *posses* when they came down the river. A *posse* was a legal concept designating *de facto* properties that lacked a formal title. When the power to sell public lands was transferred from the federal government to the states in 1891, those who could prove peaceful, stable occupation and cultivation of a piece of land for more than one year could register it as a *posse*, which was not a property deed but conferred legal rights to the land. Owners of *posse* deeds were then expected to transform them into official land property deeds by paying the government the price of the land and the survey. However, the government of Pará kept granting *posse* deeds and deferred the deadline to register the *posses* numerous times. As a result, rich landowners, poor peasants, and ex-slaves all tended to hold land in the form of *posses*, knowing that a *posse* deed was not a formal land deed, but that it could be used to support property claims in a land dispute.

That is what present-day Juquiry lake inhabitant Ana Régis dos Santos's grandfather Clemente Antônio dos Santos was probably thinking on July 15, 1896, when he registered two *posses*: Nossa Senhora dos Carmo (Our Lady of Carmo), and Santo Antônio, located on the shores of the Trombetas.⁷³ Francisca Maria do Carmo was born in the Turuna *mocambo* in the mid-1800s. From there she moved to Colônia and from there, probably with her husband Rafael Printz do Carmo, to the Arrozal lake, where she registered a *posse* called Bom Jesus on August 4, 1899.⁷⁴ Rafael and Francisca's daughter Sebastiana married José Viana. His father Miguel Viana, also a former maroon, registered a *posse* called Nazareth on the eastern shore of the

⁷³ Poses 19,298 and 19,299, at Palma Muniz, ed., *Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, 210.

⁷⁴ Biographical data about Francisca Maria, Rafael Printes' maternal grandmother, is from Funes, "Mocambos do Trombetas," 253. Data on her land is from posse 19,345, Palma Muniz, ed., *Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, 213.

Trombetas on the same day.⁷⁵ Benedicto Pinheiro, the maroon who sold his *posse* São Benedito to Manoel Costa in 1910, had registered it twelve years before, on June 1898.⁷⁶ Florêncio Antonio dos Santos was Frei Protásio Friel's informant about oral traditions concerning Maravilha in 1945. Born at the Campiche *mocambo* after the Free Womb Law was proclaimed in 1871, Dos Santos registered a *posse* called Santa Maria on the Jacaré lake in 1898.⁷⁷ In 1907 he sold it to Brazil nut merchant Raimundo da Costa Lima and moved to Tapagem lake, where as an old man he was interviewed by Friel in 1945.⁷⁸

Neither the maroons' oral traditions nor the documentary registry contain clues as to why some maroons registered *posses* while others did not. Their relations with Brazil nut merchants and *regatões* probably had something to do with it – these may have informed the ex-maroons of how to do the process. All that they had to do was to go to Oriximiná's public notary and register their *posse*. Before 1891 land claims were registered in local parishes, and since the *mocambeiros* had developed important ties with missionaries like Mazzarino and De Souza, it is reasonable to think that a parish priest would look like a reliable state representative to the *mocambeiros*. In addition, the negotiations conducted through Father Mazzarino in 1867-1868 to obtain official manumission indicate that the maroons were aware of how important written documents were in terms of guaranteeing an individual's status before the law. As they had probably learned before escaping their masters, in a slaveholding society like Brazil

⁷⁵ Posse 19,562 named Nazareth, registered on August 4, 1899, Palma Muniz, *Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, 223. Miguel Viana had relatives in the *mocambo* of Pacoval, neighboring county of Alenquer, who will appear in subsequent chapters.

⁷⁶ Posse 19,282, registered on June 6, 1898, Muniz, *Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, 209. Although their names do not match completely, there is a high probability that Florencio Antônio dos Santos (*posse* Santa Maria, number 19,344, page 213), Margarida Maria de Jesus (*posse* São Pedro, number 19,484, page 222), and Raymundo Antônio dos Santos (*posse* São Raymundo, number 19,520, page 225) were also *mocambeiros*.

⁷⁷ Posse 19,344, in Muniz, *Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, 213.

⁷⁸ CF, Demarcação Judicial Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1933; on Friel's interview see Ruiz-Peinado, "Maravilla," 113.

manumission letters were necessary to defend the property of one's own body. By the same token, asserting control over one's land through a written document must have looked equally important, given that family land was one of the very foundations of peasant autonomy.⁷⁹

However, here is where another implication of the appearance of maroons in land sale deeds of the early 1900s becomes most important. Chances are that they felt compelled to register their land plots due to the increasing presence of commercial houses demarcating lands in the Trombetas and Erepecuru regions. Between 1890 and 1920 the merchants and their agents were buying land that contained Brazil nut trees, therefore occupying the same spaces as the maroon communities and families. Maroons and merchants were competing in a race to occupy and control land, a competition that would have major consequences for both groups.

Before turning to that competition, however, we need to know how plantation slaves made the transition from slavery to freedom. How did slaves become peasants, and what role did they play in this process? The next chapter examines this question.

⁷⁹ On the development and the implications of family and property among slaves in their struggle for freedom, see Dylan C. Penningroth, "The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison." *The American Historical Review* 12, 4 (2007): 1039-69.

4.0 RURAL SLAVERY IN PARÁ, C.1850-1888

During the nineteenth century the Amazon was visited by numerous travelers in search of adventure, scientific research, or economic enterprise. In April 1848, for example, British scientists Henry Walter Bates and Alfred Russel Wallace, who collaborated with Charles Darwin investigating the origin of species, visited the region to gather information about local flora and fauna.¹ Upon their arrival in Belém they made their first excursions to the outskirts of the city and to nearby towns and rivers, visiting British and American businessmen established in the area. One such visit was to Mr. Upton's rice processing plant and saw-mill in Maguary, about 12 miles from Belém. An agent of an American company from Northampton, Massachusetts, Upton's establishment had "three mills –a saw-mill and two for cleaning rice. One rice-mill is

¹ Henry Walter Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons* (London: John Murray, 1892); Alfred Russel Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1867); Travel accounts used in this chapter include Louis Agassiz and Elizabeth Cabot Cary Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1895); Jose Velloso Barreto, *Roteiro da Navegação do Rio Amazonas do Pará até Iquitos* (Lisboa: Typographia de J. H. Verde, 1878); Charles Barrington Brown and William Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and Its Tributaries* (London: E. Stanford, 1878); Emilio Carrey, *O Amazonas: Segunda Parte: Os Revoltosos do Pará: Descrição de Viagem, Traduzida e Annotada por F. F. Da Silva Vieira* (Lisboa: Typographia do Futuro, 1862); Otille Coudreau, *Voyage au Rio Curuá: 20 Novembre 1900-7 Mars 1901* (Paris: Lahure, 1900); José Vieira Couto de Magalhães, *Relatório dos Negocios da Provincia do Pará* (Belém: Typographia de Frederico Rhossard, 1864); Inglês De Souza, *O Cacauleta (Cenas da Vida do Amazonas)* (Belém: Universidade Federal do Pará, 1973 [1876]); and *O Coronel Sangrado [Cenas da Vida no Amazonas]* (Belém: UFPA, 1968 (1880?)); William H. Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon Including a Residence at Pará* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1861); Lieut. Wm. Lewis Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (Washington: Taylor & Maury, 1854); Paul Marcoy, *Viagem pelo Rio Amazonas* (Manaus: Edições Governo do Estado do Amazonas, 2001); Barão de Marajó, *A Amazonia: As Províncias do Pará e Amazonas e o Governo Central do Brasil* (Lisboa: Livraria Antiga e Moderna, 1883); Domingos Soares Ferreira Penna, *Noticia Geral das Comarcas de Gurupá e Macapá* (Belém: Typographia do Diario do Gram-Pará 1872); João Barbosa Rodrigues, *Exploração e Estudos do Valle do Amazonas: Relatório sobre o Rio Capim* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1875); John Esaias Warren, *Para; or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851).

driven by steam, the other two by water-power, which is obtained by damming up two or three small streams, and thus forming extensive mill-pools.” Twenty years later, in 1861, another visitor reported that “twenty blacks are employed upon the place.”² This estate in Maguary was one of an extensive network of plantations and mills using slave labor that existed in the Guajarine basin, composed by the Guamá river and its tributary Capim, the Acará with its tributary Mojú, and the Pará river (Figure 4.1).

Although the glory days of the plantation economy took place before the Cabanagem rebellion of 1835-40, the decades between the end of the Cabanagem and the rubber boom of the late nineteenth century were not just a time of stagnation. Slaves continued to work on regional plantations, growing a variety of crops for national and international markets. As they did so, they learned that this environment and its multiple market niches lent themselves very well to diverse economic strategies. Their daily engagement with different productive and extractive activities, the frequent presence of *regatões*, and the degree of autonomy enjoyed by slaves on Amazonian plantations, all led the enslaved workers to develop portfolio strategies of production and commercialization that would prove very valuable in the process of becoming peasants. They learned the local ways by mingling with *caboclos* and indigenous people, as former slave generations had done before Cabanagem, and applied the knowledge acquired to their own provision grounds and thatched huts, where their families lived.

² Quotations from Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 19, and from Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 40. Henry W. Bates, William Edwards in 1846, and John Warren in 1851 also visited Upton’s mills. Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, 37-41; Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 27-42; Warren, *Para*, 197-214.

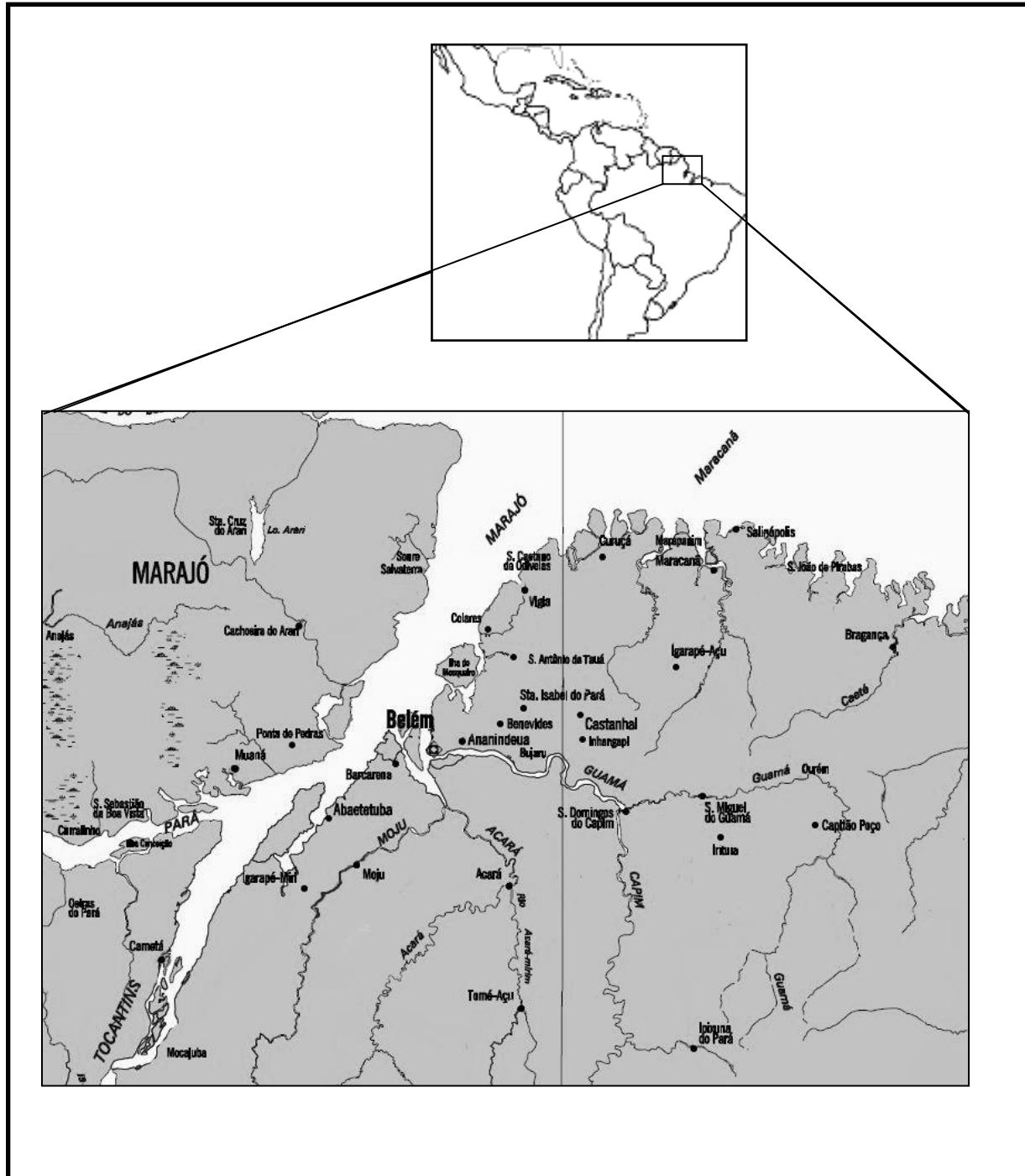


Figure 4.1. The Plantation Region of Pará, Brazil, c.1850-1888

Broader economic trends also favored the transformation of slaves into black *caboclos*. The first one was the rise of rubber exports, which became the most important Paraense export rubric in the 1860s. At that time, however, nobody could foresee the generalized prosperity that this item brought to Amazonia, and its overwhelming domination of regional exports by the late 1870s, when rubber accounted for almost 80% of the export trade value.³ A second factor shaping the transformation of slaves into peasants was obviously the gradual abolition of slavery, and the arrival of final emancipation in 1888. By that year, however, Paraense slaves had already transformed considerably their living strategies.

4.1 A “WILD AND DIVERSIFIED SCENERY”: SLAVES IN THE AMAZON ECONOMY

On 18 April 1859 Bernardino Dias Botelho purchased a land plot in Vigia, 48 miles upriver from Belém do Pará. The land was intended to support the endeavors of his son Antônio, who was starting a life of his own. One year later, Botelho bought a sugar cane grinder and a condenser coil from a local merchant for 724 milréis, a substantial investment that almost equaled the price of an adult male slave. Four years later, in September 1864, Botelho installed a brick-making machine imported from England; in 1868 young Antônio borrowed from his father to buy a kiln to provide lime for the bricks. In addition to bricks, sugarcane brandy and manioc flour,

³ Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom: 1850-1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), 53, 69-70.

Antônio's estate, called Outeiro, also provided carpentry and woodworking services to nearby clients. It employed a labor force of 13 slaves.⁴

Outeiro is representative of the network of plantations and mills using slave labor that developed in the Guajarine area and Baixo Tocantins between 1850 and 1870. In contrast to the pre-Cabanagem era, there were now more internally diversified establishments performing semi-industrial activities, not only in Belém but also in Igarapé-Miry or Mojú.⁵ In these areas, a diversified enterprise could plug into the trade networks that converged on the capital city, facilitating access to urban markets where foodstuffs and different services were always in demand. This plantation economy constituted one of the most dynamic areas of recovery after the cataclysm of the 1830s and the slow recovery of the 1840s. Their products included manioc flour, rice, fruits, vegetables, sugar, and coffee; construction materials like tar, lime, tiles, bricks, pottery, or wood; and services such as masonry, forging, carpentry, and shipbuilding and repair. Smaller than in the pre-Cabanagem period, these establishments mostly employed labor forces of between 10 and 30 slaves, with a significant presence of small slave-owners holding between 1 and 10 slaves (Table 4.1). A handful of very large plantations, concentrating a high percentage of the total slaves, existed too.

⁴ Cartório Raiol-Sociedade 5 de Agosto, Vigia (henceforth CR-5A), Cpt. Antônio Dias Botelho Post-Mortem Inventory (PMI), 1868.

⁵ Pará, *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa da Provincia do Pará na Primeira Sessão da XIII Legislatura pelo Exmo. Senr. Presidente da Provincia, Dr. Francisco Carlos de Araujo Brusque em 1º de Setembro de 1862* (Belém: Typ. de Frederico Carlos Rhossard, 1862), 57; ———, *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na Segunda Sessão Da 17ª Legislatura pelo Dr. Abel Graça, Presidente da Provincia* (Belém: Typ. do Diario do Gram-Pará, 1871), 45-6; ———, *Relatorio Apresentado a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na Primeira Sessão da 19ª Legislatura pelo Presidente da Provincia do Pará, o Excellentissimo Senhor Doutor Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, em 15 de Fevereiro de 1874* (Belém: Typ. do Diario do Gram-Pará, 1874), 64; ———, *Relatorio Apresentado ao Exm. Senr. Dr. Francisco Maria Corrêa de Sá e Benevides pelo Exm. Senr. Dr. Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, por Occasião de Passar-lhe a Administração da Provincia do Pará, do Dia 17 de Janeiro de 1875* (Belém: Typ. de F.C. Rhossard, 1875), 61-2, 75.

Table 4.1. Slaveholdings in Pará, 1856-1886⁶

Size of labor force	Slaves		Inventories	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
6 to 10 slaves	104	15.43%	13	37.14%
11 to 20 slaves	113	16.77%	8	22.86%
21 to 30 slaves	217	32.20%	9	25.71%
31 to 40 slaves	104	15.43%	3	8.57%
More than 40 slaves:	136	20.18%	2	5.71%
Total:	674	100.00%	35	100.00%

In 1859, while Botelho was enlarging his son's landholdings in Vigia, Manoel da Cunha Vidinha died in the capital city of Belém. He had a small brandy distillery on an estate called Cacoalinho, where 8 slaves and other rural workers were employed. This estate also produced cacao, coffee, fruit, and possibly milk.⁷ Ten years later, José Antônio Ferreira's income from his sugar mill, worked by a labor force of 26 slaves, was supplemented by cacao grown in several fields in the

⁶ Sub-Sample of 35 post-mortem inventories (PMIs) with 5 or more slaves dating between 1856 and 1886, totaling 672 individuals, from the following archives: Bentes Notary from Alenquer (CBA), Raiol Notary-Sociedade 5 de Agosto from Vigia (SA-CR), the Centro de Memória da Amazônia from Belém (CMA), and the Public Archive of the State of Pará (APEP), funds Juízo de Órfãos de Igarapé-Miry, Juízo de Direito da Primeira Vara, Juízo de Direito da Segunda Vara, and Juízo de Órfãos da Capital. The main sample consisted of 86 PMIs obtained from available years between 1856 and 1886 in these archives. Compare to Luciana Marinho Batista, "Demografia, Família e Resistência no Grão-Pará (1850-1855)," in *Terra Matura: Historiografia e História Social na Amazônia*, ed. José Maia Bezerra Neto and Décio de Alencar Guzmán (Belém: Paka-Tatu, 2002), and José Maia Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará: Sécs. XVII-XIX* (Belém: Paka-Tatu, 2001).

⁷ Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará, Juízo de Órfãos (henceforth APEP-Orf), Manoel da Cunha Vidinha PMI, 1859.

county of Abaeté in the Baixo Tocantins region.⁸ On all these estates, and more broadly in the plantation economy of Pará, sugar and *cachaça* were important items: the state hosted 166 sugar plantations in 1862, probably many of them producing brandy as well.⁹ Between 1847 and 1860, Pará exported annually an average of 183 metric tons of sugar, an amount that increased to more than 540 tons in 1862. Sugar exports then declined through the 1860s -and finally disappeared from the state's exports by 1870.¹⁰ More research is needed on this issue, but a potential explanation for the end of sugar exports lies in the absorption of the output by local markets, already expanding in these decades, and in the recruitment of slaves during the Paraguayan War (1864-70).¹¹

After they disappeared from Pará's exports, sugar, molasses, and especially *cachaça* continued to be produced for local markets in the counties of Abaeté (Lower Tocantins), Belém, and Mojú, and Igarapé-Miri. In 1875 the governor of Pará reported how there were "many steam-powered mills, some with turbines for fabricating sugar, and all of them with machinery to produce molasses and sugarcane brandy" in those counties.¹² In 1884 Igarapé-Miri maintained 36 sugarcane brandy mills supplying the internal market – it would continue to do so almost until the mid-1900s.¹³

⁸ APEP-Orf, José Lourinho PMI, 1856; APEP-Orf, José Antônio Ferreira PMI, 1869.

⁹ Luiz Cordeiro, *O Estado do Pará: Seu Commercio e Industrias de 1719 a 1920* (Belém: Tavares Cardoso & Ca., 1920), 20.

¹⁰ Pará, *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembleia Legislativa Provincial por S. Exca. o Sr. Vice-Almirante e Conselheiro de Guerra Joaquim Raymundo de Lamare, Presidente da Provincia, em 15 de Agosto de 1867* (Belém: Typ. de Frederico Rhossard, 1867), 17.

¹¹ Vicente Salles, *O Negro no Pará Sob o Regime da Escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas-Universidade Federal do Pará, 1971), 277-279.

¹² Pará, *Relatorio ... 1875*, 61.

¹³ Pará, *Falla com que o Excmo., Senr. Conselheiro João Silveira de Sousa, Abriu a 1ª Sessão da 25ª Legislatura da Assembléa Legislativa Provincial em 15 de Uutubro [sic] de 1884* (Pará: Typ. de Francisco Costa Junior, 1885), S1-32; Eládio Lobato, *Caminho de Canoa Pequena* (Belém: ?, 2007), 99-101.

But more important than sugar or *cachaça* was cacao, the predominant cash crop in the region of Baixo Tocantins, comprising the counties of Baião, Cametá, Abaeté, and Mocajuba. It was also a fundamental item in the region of Baixo Amazonas, about 900 miles upriver, especially in the counties of Santarém, Óbidos, Alenquer, and Monte Alegre. “Most of Óbidos townsfolk are owners of cacao plantations,” explained Henry Bates in 1859.¹⁴ This was Pará’s main export commodity before the Cabanagem, and remained a very important one throughout the 1800s. Between 1847 and 1869, on average about 3,350 tons of cacao were exported annually from Pará. In the 1880s exports increased to more than 4,700 tons of cacao per year; between 1889 and 1918 they slowly declined, but still reached approximately 2,700 tons per year.¹⁵ Cacao was often cultivated or collected in smallholdings.¹⁶ The model of the smallholder peasant living in a family unit that included one or two slaves and 5,000 cacao trees was fairly frequent both in Baixo Amazonas and in Baixo Tocantins.¹⁷ Other plantation crops exported between 1850 and 1870 included manioc flour, cotton, coffee, annatto, and rice. The later was the most important, reaching in the 1860s an average of more than 1,100 tons exported per year.¹⁸

¹⁴ Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, 122-5. See also Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 170; Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, 297-300; Henry Lister Maw, *Journal of a Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Crossing the Andes in the Northern Provinces of Peru, and Descending the River Marañon, or Amazon* (London: John Murray, 1829), 340.

¹⁵ Cordeiro, *O Estado do Pará*, 61; Pará, *Relatorio 1867*, 17.

¹⁶ Dauril Alden, “The Significance of Cacao Production in the Amazon Region During the Late Colonial Period: An Essay in Comparative Economic History,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, 2 (1976); Barreto, *Roteiro da Navegação do Rio Amazonas do Pará até Iquitos*, 11-8; Cordeiro, *O Estado do Pará*, 19; De Magalhães, *Relatório dos Negocios da Provincia do Pará*, 13-25; Paul Le Cointe, *L’amazonie Bresilienne: Le Pays-Ses Habitants, des Ressources, Notes et Statistiques Jusqu’en 1920*, vol. 2 (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1934).

¹⁷ Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará*, 100; De Souza, *O Coronel Sangrado*, 113.

¹⁸ Pará, *Relatorio 1867*, 16.

4.2 LEARNING LOCAL AGRICULTURE

The diversity of production on local plantations meant that slaves performed multiple tasks that went well beyond the cultivation, weeding, and harvest of export crops. The cultivation and processing of food crops for local sale and consumption, for example, was a fundamental activity on Amazon plantations. Most common was manioc, planted once or twice a year using the slash-and-burn technique. But the plant can not be consumed raw, for it is poisonous. It has to be peeled and then boiled, squeezed, grated, and finally toasted for a few hours in large, concave plates made of copper, called manioc ovens. The resulting manioc flour was the basis of the Amazon diet, as it still is today, to a large extent. Manioc gardens were common,¹⁹ and sometimes even entire estates were devoted to its cultivation. On his way to the Tocantins, Alfred R. Wallace mentioned the Jaguararí estate on the Mojú river, “where there are a hundred and fifty slaves engaged principally in cultivating mandioca.”²⁰ Upon his arrival to the sugar plantation of Caripé in 1851, 20 miles away from Belém, John E. Warren had also observed “a number of old slaves engaged in making farina,”²¹ we do not know if for consumption or for sale.

Slaves also engaged in other agricultural activities while living on plantations: it was frequent to find them working on provision grounds and collecting or harvesting different fruits. In the same estate of Caripé, which Warren described as having a “wild and diversified” surrounding scenery, he described “an extensive garden ... beyond which were groves of orange

¹⁹ Examples are APEP-Orf, De Moraes PMI, 1858; APEP-Orf, Pastana PMI, 1864; APEP-Orf, De Goes PMI, 1865; APEP-Orf., Da Silveira PMI, 1864; CMA, Tusão PMI, 1871.

²⁰ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 36.

²¹ Warren, *Para*, 98.

and other fruit trees, and thriving fields of tufted sugar-cane,” along with cocoa trees. In his depiction of the Tauaú pottery kiln, 30 miles south of Belém on the Acará river, William Edwards reported in 1846 that “there were about eighty slaves connected with this plantation, some engaged with cultivating the ground or labouring in the forest, others at the *tilaria* [tile factory] or the kiln.” The estate also included a “hill covered by orange and cocoa trees.”²² When French novelist Émile Carrey described a sugar plantation in Mojú, he mentioned coconut palms and lemon, mango, cacao, pineapple, and orange trees, in addition to areas with planted maize, manioc, and sugarcane.²³ Even in cattle farms in the island of Marajó, Alfred R. Wallace noted how “round the house are a good many orange and mango trees” upon his visit to one such establishment in 1848.²⁴

Fruit trees were cheap to maintain, given that many of them grew wild in the forest, and easy, because they did not demand much work, most water being supplied by the generous rain. Still, fruit trees and food crops added to the value of real estate when listed in post-mortem inventories.²⁵ Foodstuffs grown in the Guajarine area could be sold in Belém or consumed in the plantations themselves, either by the masters or by the slaves: both manioc flour and tropical fruits were part of the standard diet of the local population, regardless of their social class. During his trip to the Tocantins river in 1848, Alfred Wallace experienced what was considered a luxurious menu provided by the owner of a sugar plantation: a breakfast consisting of beef and dried fish with *farinha* (manioc flour), coffee, and “farinha cakes” (probably tapioca), and later a

²² Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 54.

²³ Emilio Carrey, *O Amazonas: Segunda Parte: Os Revoltosos do Pará: Descrição de Viagem, Traduzida e Annotada por F. F. Da Silva Vieira* (Lisboa: Typographia do Futuro, 1862), 282-3.

²⁴ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 60.

²⁵ APEP-1V, Felizardo dos Santos Quaresma PMI, 1878; APEP-Orf. Carolina Antunes Barral PMI, 1865.

dinner that included “rice or shrimp soup, a variety of meat, game or fresh fish, terminating with fruit, principally pine-apples and oranges.”²⁶

While work in gardens and orchards advanced slaves’ knowledge about the possibilities and the limits of agriculture in the region, inter-ethnic relations with natives also contributed to this process. A young slave named Hilário, nicknamed Larry by Henry W. Bates, perfectly exemplifies the learning of local living strategies. When Bates visited Mr. Upton’s rice mills Larry was in charge of showing the guest the surrounding forest because he knew “the Indian names” and “enumerated the properties of a number of forest trees.”²⁷ A similar case to Larry was that of Gregorio, a free mulatto in charge of guiding William Edwards in his excursions around Agostinho José Lopes Godinho’s sugar plantation in Vigia. Gregorio had a “companero” (sic) called Francisco, “an Indian of like characteristics and propensities.”²⁸

Larry’s knowledge and Gregorio’s social relations are indicative of the inter-ethnic contacts that allowed slaves to learn what could be eaten, cultivated, collected, processed, built, conserved, fabricated, hunted, fished, distilled, bought, and sold, out of the vast repository of products that the tropical forest represented. But evidence of inter-ethnic relations in the *senzalas* goes well beyond the two of them: foreign observers often reported the presence of “Indians” in the labor forces of plantations and mills. Mr. Upton’s rice mills, for example, employed not only black Afro-descendants, but also “natives”; the same was true on cattle farms in Marajó, or

²⁶ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* 39. He considers this menu a typical one, but it is more likely that it represented the meals served when guests visited the country houses. The diet of the elites became more sophisticated as they adopted European customs in the decades of the rubber boom. Sidiana da Consolação Ferreira de Macêdo, “Daquilo Que Se Come: Uma História do Abastecimento e da Alimentação em Belém (1850-1900)” (MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2009).

²⁷ Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, 42.

²⁸ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 69.

multiple *engenhos* in the Guajarine area.²⁹ Data from slave demography in the region corroborates the mixed ethnic background of local labor forces: out of a sample of 440 slaves, 110 or 25% of them were described as *cafuzos* of mixed Indian and African descent; 9 slaves from a plantation in Vigia were described as being “of Indian color,” and two as *caboclos*, the term used to describe Amazonian mestizo peasants.³⁰ The material culture found in four large *engenhos* in the Guajarine region (Murutucú, Jaguararí, Uriboça, and Mocajuba) likewise shows a marked inter-ethnic character. The presence of indigenous or *caboclo* ceramic ware (bowls, jars, smoking pipes) was often greater than that produced with European techniques. Slaves’ bowls and pipes were built using local knowledge, techniques, and materials, probably learnt from natives. Local traditions did influence the lives of Amazon slaves, who could share experiences with “caboclized” Indians and learn from them.³¹

Rather than formally purchased as slaves in the way that African and creole bondsmen were, Indians ended up as plantation captives in different ways. The largest plantations, usually owned by the Catholic orders and located in the Guajarine region, had often included significant numbers of Indians living on the same estates and practicing the same tasks as African slaves.³² The Jaguararí *engenho*, owned by the Jesuits, comprised 62 African slaves and 95 Indians in 1761. Many estates owned by religious orders in the late 1700s had similarly mixed labor forces: for example, the Ibirajuba mill, in Acará, which had belonged to the Jesuits, or the Engenhoca

²⁹ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 69; Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* 63, 82; Warren, *Para*, 213.

³⁰ Sub-sample from the 35 post-mortem inventories used on note 6: the 440 individuals reflecting racial description out of the total of 674.

³¹ Fernando Luis Tavares Marques, “Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial no Estuário Amazônico: Estudo Arqueológico de Engenhos dos Séculos XVIII e XIX” (PhD Dissertation, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 2004), 94-96, 104-105, 118, 124.

³² Marques, “Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial,” 56.

plantation in Guamá, which was the property of the Carmelites.³³ The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1758 dealt a blow to this network of plantations and cattle ranches, but the local landed elite purchased many of them, trying to preserve the labor force.³⁴ The further away from Belém, the higher the chances of encountering indigenous and Afro-descendant slaves working and living together. Along the Capim river, Alfred R. Wallace visited Senhor Calixto's estate São José, which included rice and cane cultivation and processing, and where he had "about fifty slaves of all ages, and about as many Indians." Senhor Calixto argued that "by having slaves and Indians working together he was enabled to get more work out of the latter than by any other system."³⁵ In Baixo Amazonas, where the Indian population was larger, native groups intermingled more intensely with local populations throughout the 1800s. Mundurucu Indians, for example, were frequently found performing varied tasks in cacao and tobacco plantations, in cattle ranches, and even in cities.³⁶

4.3 PRACTICING LOCAL AGRICULTURE

The exchange of knowledge with native Amazonians and the practical lessons drawn from agricultural activities in plantations were first put in practice by the slaves when they worked on

³³ Marques, "Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial," 65, 108.

³⁴ João de Palma Muniz, "Os Contemplados (Não Contemplados com Documentação)," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Pará* 1, 1 (1912), 71-78.

³⁵ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 80-1.

³⁶ Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 157; Brown and Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and Its Tributaries*, 115, 200, 231.

their own gardens and provision grounds. The predominant mode of feeding the slaves seems to have been a flexible mixture of food purchase by the planter, use of manioc grounds belonging to the plantation, and the slaves' own provision grounds. In the plantation and brandy mill of Livramento, for example, 23 slaves worked for Manoel Gonçalves Corrêa de Miranda. De Miranda purchased every month about 11 gallons of manioc flour, 300 pounds of meat, and 100 pounds of fish (*pirarucu* and *guriuba*), an amount that probably included both the slaves' and the *casa grande* allowance.³⁷ Francisco Ezequiel Sarmiento had an *engenhoca* in the Mojú river and employed 9 slaves there to produce *cachaça*. He acquired a variable amount of food every month, but in January or October 1855 he bought 33 pounds of pirarucú, and more than 165 pounds of jerked beef.³⁸ In order to feed the 9 slaves who worked in Abrie Diniz's sawmill in Bemfica, which included "many fruit trees" and also produced sugarcane brandy, he bought 235 pounds of pirarucu, 2648 pounds of rice, and 18 gallons of manioc flour per month from local merchants.³⁹ "Upon Saturday afternoon," explained William Edwards when describing the habits of slaves in the Tauaú tile factory in 1846, "all the blacks collected around the store-room to receive their rations of fish and farinha for the ensuing week."⁴⁰

Slaves also had the right to work on their own provision grounds. Adding to his description of the weekly rations that the slaves received in Tauaú, Edwards noted that "many of these blacks had fowls and small cultivated patches, and from these sources, as well as from wood and river, obtained much of their support."⁴¹ Alfred R. Wallace observed in a large cattle estate in Marajó how the labor force, composed of 20 slaves and a similar number of free

³⁷ APEP-IM, Thereza de Jesus Maia e Miranda PMI, 1876, 63.

³⁸ APEP-Orf, Francisco Ezequiel Sarmiento PMI, 1859.

³⁹ APEP-Orf, Abrie Diniz PMI, 1869, 92-102.

⁴⁰ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 55.

⁴¹ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 61.

laborers, was “allowed farinha only; but they can cultivate Indian corn and vegetables for themselves, and have powder and shot given them for hunting, so that they do not fare so badly.” Concerning the slaves, “Sunday is their own day, for working in their gardens, hunting, or idleness, as they choose.” In addition to working on their own gardens, “many of them keep fowls and ducks, which they sell, to buy any little luxuries they may require, and they often go fishing to supply the house, when they have a share for themselves.”⁴²

Poultry and produce from provision grounds was complemented by fishing and by hunting *pacas*, agoutis, *coatás* (white-bellied spider monkeys), and even tapirs, in the forests surrounding the plantations. In 1858 Henry W. Bates observed how Major Gama, the Óbidos Military Commandant, sent “every week a negro hunter to shoot *coatás*. Thinking that the experience was worth trying, Bates “borrowed a negro slave from a friend to show me the way.”⁴³ A few years before, William Edwards had seen the “traps set by the negroes for *pacas* and agoutis, or other small animals” near the plantation of Caripé, in Marajó.⁴⁴ Far from there, in the Lower Amazon, the American entomologist visited a cacao plantation where “the master was absent, but the slaves had a number of fine *tambaki* [a large freshwater fish], and we purchased enough already roasted to last us to barra.”⁴⁵ Perhaps they had fished the *tambaqui* on a Sunday, as Vigienze slave José did on March 14, 1858, when he spent his free day fishing with a net.⁴⁶

That the slaves sold fish to river travelers like Mr. Edwards is certainly not a trivial matter: it means that the bondsmen knew how to market their produce, which increased their access to cash. Long-distance retail merchants navigating the rivers of the Amazon basin had to

⁴² Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 63-4.

⁴³ Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, 126.

⁴⁴ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 55.

⁴⁵ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 135.

⁴⁶ 5A-CR, João Bento de Miranda to Police Chief, March 17, 1858.

do something with this. When Portuguese merchant José Maria de Andrade died in São Domingos do Capim in 1865, several slaves had debts with him, which means that they were buying his merchandise on credit. The slave Anacleto owed him 37 milréis, a respectable amount, and Manoel do Carmo, Antônio dos Santos' slave, owed 10,500 réis. The slaves Eleuterio, Jacintho, João, Isidora, Manoel José, Marcolino, Manoel, and Nazario were also indebted to Andrade.⁴⁷ When José Roiz dos Santos Almeida's commercial firm went bankrupt in 1870, a number of slaves were included among Almeida's debtors, owing amounts between 250 réis and almost 30 milréis.⁴⁸ In Alenquer, near Santarém, a man called Manoel, "Demetrio's slave," had contracted a debt of 11 milréis in 1879 with Brasilino Caetano José da Costa, a local merchant.⁴⁹

Because evidence from these documents does not provide information other than the amount of the debt and the names of the slaves and their owners, two scenarios can be hypothesized here. In the first one, these slaves were employed extracting forest goods. This activity implied sending a slave to deep into the forest, but there is evidence that the masters did so. In 1847 "what had been a cultivated plantation" with a number of slaves in the Guamá river "was growing up to forest, the Senhor having turned his attention to seringa."⁵⁰ Near Baião, in the lower Tocantins river, the Jambuaçu plantation was devoted to the cultivation of cacao, but also to the extraction of rubber.⁵¹ In 1870, a Belém newspaper advertised the sale of "a black slave 22 years old, working as a rubber tapper."⁵² In these cases the masters probably oversaw

⁴⁷ APEP-Orf, José Maria de Andrade PMI, 1865, 79, 82-84.

⁴⁸ AFS, "Mapa de fallida de José Roiz dos Santos Almeida. Diario A," 1870, 3-13.

⁴⁹ CBA, Caetano José da Costa PMI, 1879.

⁵⁰ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 61. Edwards did not mention the exact number of slaves.

⁵¹ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 53.

⁵² "Venda de Escravo," *Diário do Gram Pará*, 5 August 1870, facilitated by Bezerra Neto; José Maia Bezerra Neto, "Escravidão e Crescimento Econômico no Pará (1850-1888)," in *Seminário: Fazenda, Alfândega e Tesouro no Pará*

the financial interactions between slaves and merchants, much in the way that slaveowners oversaw the autonomous activities of numerous *escravas de ganho* or hired female slaves in Belém and other cities.⁵³

In a second scenario, the slaves clandestinely sold produce from the plantations or from the forests. An Óbidos councilman complained in 1850: “is the theft of cacao not widely introduced among our slaves? Can anybody doubt that the *regatões* have caused this and other evils plaguing our formerly flourishing county?”⁵⁴ In 1864, the Provincial President argued that “the landowners who live in the interior suffer the activities of ruthless merchants [*vendilhões*], who live near the estates and trade with the slaves, thus encouraging theft.”⁵⁵ On May 1, 1877, the state government established a fine of “20,000 réis or five days of prison to those trading with slaves” without the masters’ permission, and five years later the same institution instructed rural police officers in Marajó to prevent the gatherings of “cowboys and slaves” taking place in commercial houses in the countryside.⁵⁶ But the illegal trade persisted: in 1881 the Municipal Council called for the enforcement of fines against *regatões* “trading with slaves without their masters’ permission.”⁵⁷ In short, whether legal or illegally, Amazonian slaves frequently established commercial relations with *regatões*, thus learning the mechanisms of trade and diversifying their sources of cash.

(Belém do Pará: 2008), 13-14. See also “Documento do Mês de Setembro” in http://www.ufpa.br/cma/documento_do_mes.html (accessed March 2010).

⁵³ Bezerra Neto, “Histórias Urbanas de Liberdade: Escravos em Fuga na Cidade de Belém, 1860-1888,” *Afro-Ásia* 28 (2002), 221-250; Almost every single nineteenth-century visitor to Belém noticed this fact.

⁵⁴ AMO, Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, July 8, 1850.

⁵⁵ José Vieira Couto de Magalhães, *Relatório dos Negocios da Provincia do Pará* (Belém: Typographia de Frederico Rhossard, 1864), 9.

⁵⁶ Flavio dos Santos Gomes, *Nas Terras do Cabo Norte: Fronteiras, Colonização, e Escravidão na Guiana Brasileira, Sécs. XVIII / XIX* (Belém: UFPA, 1999), 396, 399.

⁵⁷ Gomes, *Nas Terras do Cabo Norte*, 399.

In sum, in order to diversify their diet, obtain cash, and get goods for themselves through barter or purchase, slaves in Amazonian plantations often had access to provision grounds, gardens, orchards, fishing, hunting, and trade with local merchants. The vitality of their internal economy in the post-Cabanagem decades attests to their initial entry into the ranks of the peasantry. They were still slaves, but slaves who were learning the economic strategies of peasants and using those strategies to feed themselves and their families.

4.4 “CHILDREN OF THE HOUSE”: BUILDING FAMILY BONDS

In nineteenth-century Brazil, officially sanctioned marital unions among slaves occurred with different frequencies following regional patterns. Despite the traditional historiography's argument that slavery represented “social death,” and that life in plantations implied the destruction of social bonds, newer research has shown how in the plantation areas of São Paulo, for example, 30% of all slave males and 61.8% of all female slaves in properties with more than 10 slaves were or had been married in 1872. In that province both the imperial government and the planters emphasized the formation of slave families as a way to guarantee stability and prevent runaways in the labor force.⁵⁸ In Pará, by contrast, the rate of marriage among slaves was

⁵⁸ Manolo Garcia Florentino and João Luis Ribeiro Fragoso, “Marcelino, Filho de Inocência Crioula, Neto de Joana Cabinda: Um Estudo sobre Famílias Escravas em Paraíba do Sul (1835-1872)” *Estudos Econômicos* 17, 2 (1987); Slenes, *Na Senzala, uma Flor*, 75, 91-93.

very low: in 1872 barely 9% of male slaves and 8% of female slaves were either married or widowed, and in previous years this rate may have been even lower.⁵⁹

However, the absence of formal marriage among slaves should not lead us to think that no families were formed in the *senzalas* of Amazonian plantations. Formal marital unions were largely absent because of the permanent lack of parish priests in rural areas throughout the Amazon in the 1800s.⁶⁰ Even in the absence of priests, however, Paraense slaves formed families of their own. The prospects for forming a family were actually rather good: between 1850 and 1888 there were slightly more enslaved women than men in all years with available data, except for 1885. In 1851, out of 34,073 slaves, 17,123 were women and 16,950, men. In 1872, enslaved women were 15,927, while enslaved men numbered 15,062 individuals; in 1876, the total amounts slightly descended to 13,798 men and 14,686 women; finally, in the last years before abolition, 5,196 men and 5,339 women were still enslaved in Pará.⁶¹

The decrease in slave imports to Amazonia caused by the Cabanagem revolt is probably the main reason why the gender ratio in local plantations was relatively balanced. In addition, enslaved women performed a variety of agricultural and artisan tasks in plantations and mills. William Edwards saw them making tiles in the Tauauá tile factory, and many others were listed in post-mortem inventories as washerwomen and farm workers (*lavradoras*).⁶² Data is still scant on this subject, but the concentration of rural enslaved women in these occupations may indicate

⁵⁹ *Recenseamento do Brasil em 1872: Pará*, 212. From IBGE electronic library, <http://www.ibge.com> (accessed January 2011). In my sample of post-mortem inventories (Table 4.1) the rate of married and widow slaves is almost nil, although this could be due to the fact that post-mortem inventories frequently did not register such data.

⁶⁰ Brown and Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and Its Tributaries*, 82; Pará, *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Pará no Dia 15 de Agosto de 1857, por Occasião da Abertura da Segunda Sessão da 10ª Legislatura da Mesma Assembleia, pelo Presidente, Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan* ([Belém]: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1857), 7; Penna, *Noticia Geral das Comarcas de Gurupá e Macapá*, 26-27.

⁶¹ Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará*, 53.

⁶² Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 54; see for example CMA, João Francisco Tusão PMI, 1871 and 5A-CR, Manoel Xavier Pereira PMI, 1875.

that the gendered division of labor among slaves gradually followed the broader regional pattern: *roça* work was performed by women, whereas men took care of wage work, hunting, and fishing.⁶³

Enslaved women and men, then, had reasonable chances of finding a partner that suited their necessities, their preferences, or simply their sexual interests. As a result, rates of reproduction were relatively high: of the 582 slaves whose age appears in my sample of post-mortem inventories, 31.25% were children 12 years old or younger. In Tauaú, at the tile factory where Edwards described the women working, he also noticed that “any number of little negroes, of all ages and sizes, and all naked, were running about,” exactly the same scene that Obidense writer Inglês de Souza captured in his novel *O Cacauleta* while describing cacao plantations in the region of Baixo Amazonas.⁶⁴

The stability of families over time is difficult to assess given the paucity of sources and studies on the subject, but of the 452 slaves listed in my sample of inventories showing kinship ties, 39.12% (177 out of 452) lived with their relatives on the same plantation. Another study, based on data from a larger collection of 190 inventories from 1850-1855, found that 34.2% of all enslaved individuals resided with members of their family in the same plantation.⁶⁵ Foreign visitors claimed that slave families were never separated when the slaves were inherited, but they may have overstated the good will of the masters. In 1869 Parliament prohibited the separation of slave families, ending (at least in theory) the breaking up of slave families.⁶⁶

⁶³ The sample used in Table 4.1 comprises 672 enslaved individuals, 331 of which were women. Only the jobs of 32 of them appears in probate records; most were washerwomen and farm workers. Maria Angélica Motta-Maués, “*Trabalhadeiras*” e “*Camarados*”: *Relações de Gênero, Simbolismo e Ritualização numa Comunidade Amazônica* (Belém: UFPA, 1993), 145-150.

⁶⁴ De Souza, *O Cacauleta*, 81-2; Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 61.

⁶⁵ By relative in this case I mean children, parent, sibling, or spouse. Batista, “Demografia, Família e Resistência,” 223.

⁶⁶ Robert B. Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), 49.

Other forces worked in favor of the maintenance of slave families as well. As in other Atlantic slave societies, enslaved Paraenses struggled to maintain family ties against social or economic obstacles: they paid to buy the freedom of their relatives, brought court cases to denounce illegal separations, and in general tried to keep family units together.⁶⁷ Sometimes the masters' interests coalesced with the slaves in this sense. From the planters' point of view, in the context of the chronic scarcity of labor that characterized the Amazonian economy, fragmenting the labor force was not a good idea. Thus, mills and plantations were often sold or mortgaged with their slave crews attached as one more asset, along with the machinery, manioc grounds, orchards, and cattle. In 1872, the Murutucú plantation contained "a steam-powered sugar mill to fabricate sugar and *cachaça*, hydraulic sawmill, barracks, harvesting tools, coils, pipes, diverse utensils, 10 head of cattle [,] and fifty-two slaves;" it was evaluated in 52 contos.⁶⁸ In Vigia, the Santo Antônio da Campina sugar plantation was sold by Agostinho José de Almeida to the Baron of Guajará in 1874 for 35 contos – it included 58 slaves.⁶⁹ The practice of maintaining families on plantations was best expressed by Francisco de Nazareth Rodriguez's post-mortem inventory. It included several small cacao plantations in Abaeté, and 4 slaves: Verónica, the 32-year-old mother of a newborn baby, Virginia, 12 years old, and Raymunda, who was 10 when the

⁶⁷ For example, APEP-Judiciário: Belém – Juízo da Provedoria, "Autos de Avaliação Judicial," 1851; Belém – Juízo de Direito da 2ª Vara Cível da Capital, "Autos de Liberdade: A Cafuza Amélia e sua Filha Francisca," 1874; Breves – Juízo Municipal, "Autos Cíveis de Manumissão," 1875; Belém – Juízo de Direito da 1ª Vara, "Autos de Inventário e Partilhas de Agueda Maria Gonçalves," 1878; Belém – Juízo de Direito da 2ª Vara Cível da Capital, "Autos de Liberdade," 1879.

⁶⁸ Books 92 and 90 of Mortgage Deeds, Chermont Notary, quoted in Marques, "Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial", 111, 84.

⁶⁹ Rosa Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra: Cadeia de Apropriação e Atores Sociais em Conflito na Ilha de Colares* (Belém: UFPA, 2004), 60; Wilkler Almeida, *Tauapará* (Vigia, PA: Edição do Autor, 2005), 37-45. See also Andréa da Silva Pastana, "Em Nome de Deus, Amém!: Mulheres, Escravos, Famílias, e Heranças Através dos Testamentos em Belém do Grão Pará na Primeira Metade do Século XIX" (MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2008), 119.

inventory was written, in 1878. “The first one was inherited,” the inventory explained, “and the others are *children of the house*.”⁷⁰

As a consequence of this combination of forces, generations of slaves lived together on Amazonian plantations for decades, especially in the large estates, but also in mid-size ones. Maria Thereza Maia e Miranda’s Livramento plantation, for example, employed a labor force of 23 slaves in 1876. Victor, Gabriel, Pedro, and Eloi, with ages between 23 and 29, were brothers and lived with 51-year-old Mônica, a widow. They were born and raised in the mill. Cândida, a 25-year-old unmarried washerwoman, lived in the same estate with her sons Aleixo and Maria das Neves, ages 4 and 7. In addition to these families, the slaves Romão (39), Francisco (41), and Felix (51), brothers and sons of an unknown mother, and siblings Leocadio (35), Hilaria (23), y Luiza (18), lived in the same mill. More than half the slaves on the plantation were part of 3 family groups.⁷¹ In Vigia, the Baron of Guajará’s Santo Antônio da Campina plantation hosted 58 slaves in 1874, comprising 4 family trees of 3 generations each.⁷² The evolution of families after the Free Birth Law of 1871 is difficult to ascertain, but a comparison of children from 34 slave mothers in different plantations before 1871, and those from 13 slave mothers living in Antônio Francisco Corrêa Caripuna’s *engenhoca* in Abaeté in 1877, shows that the average number of children per slave mother increased from 1.82 to 2.23 after the Free Birth Law.⁷³ This evidence is admittedly insufficient, but it does point towards a possible increase in family size.

⁷⁰ “Foi havido a primeira [Veronica] por herança e os mais são cria da caza.” Emphasis added. APEP-IV, Francisco de Nazareth Rodrigues PMI, 1871.

⁷¹ APEP-IM, Maria Thereza Maia e Miranda PMI, 1876. See also APEP-Orf, José Antônio Ferreira PMI, 1869, and CMA, Antônio Gomes Correia de Miranda PMI, 1871.

⁷² Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra*, 76.

⁷³ For similar findings, see O. Nigel Bolland, “Timber Extraction and the Shaping of Enslaved People’s Culture in Belize,” in *Slavery without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society since the 17th Century*, ed. Verene Shepherd (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002), 53. Manolo Garcia Florentino and Cecilia Machado, “Famílias e Mercado: Tipologias Parentais de Acordo ao Grau de Afastamento do Mercado de Cativos (Século XIX),” *Afro-Ásia* 24 (2000).

In sum, slaves working on Paraense plantations had good prospects for forming families, especially those living on the largest properties, and frequently did so. We have also seen how they cultivated their own provision grounds and even had commercial relations with *regatões*. In order to keep these family groups working for the masters, then, developing refined management techniques based on coercion and paternalism was mandatory. An excessive amount of the former could lead slaves to flee into the forest, while too much paternalism could lead to low levels of productivity. This negotiation is described in the next section.

4.5 A “LARGE FAMILY OF CHILDREN”: PATERNALISM IN AMAZON PLANTATIONS

The paternal planter reigning over the *engenho* is a fundamental figure in studies of slavery in Brazil.⁷⁴ From the colonial period, Northeastern *senhores de engenho* were considered in legal and symbolic terms as heads of their extended families, of their “houses,” in other words. On their plantations “the father required the unquestioned respect and obedience of his children, wife, servants, slaves, and dependents, in return for which he was expected to provide sustenance, direction, and protection.”⁷⁵ Paraense planters also adhered this model, according to historian and folklorist Vicente Salles, who wrote in 1971 *O Negro no Pará sob o Regime da Escravidão*, a pioneering systematic study of slavery and the African roots of the Amazon.

⁷⁴ Guillermo Giucci, et al, ed., *Gilberto Freyre: Casa-Grande & Senzala: Edição Crítica* (Paris: Ed. Unesco, 2002).

⁷⁵ Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Bahian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 287-294, quotation from 288.

Paternalism was central to his analysis of Afro-descendants' life in rural Pará: "The main characteristic found in this context is that of the rural master becoming an authentic *paterfamilias*. The ranch or the plantation was a heterogeneous space kept together by the institution of rigid patriarchy."⁷⁶

Travel accounts, the main source used by Salles in his depiction of the regime of patriarchy in *engenhos* and *fazendas*, indeed emphasize the patriarchal character of the treatment of slaves in Pará. For those who wrote them, the natural conclusion was that slavery in Brazil was milder and more humane than in the Caribbean or the southern United States. Geologists Charles B. Brown and William Lidstone narrated after visiting the Amazon in 1873 how a slave-owner in Baixo Amazonas "treated his [slaves] with great humanity – in fact, he would not use the term 'slaves,' but spoke of them always as belonging to his household." Before them, John Warren had written in 1851 that slaves "are treated with extraordinary clemency by their masters" in Pará. "The slaves here are treated remarkably well," claimed Alfred Russell Wallace when describing the life and work of slaves in Mr. Calixto's plantation on the Capim river. Henry W. Bates later followed suit when he observed that Amazonian slaves received "lenient treatment" from their masters, and William Edwards described how a slave-owner named Senhor Angélico was considered by his slaves' children "the best playmate on the premises," leading Edwards to conclude that "it is this universally kind relation between master and slaves in Brazil that robs slavery of its horrors, and changes it into a system of mutual dependence and good will."⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Salles, *O Negro no Pará*, 113.

⁷⁷ Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, 6; Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 61; Brown and Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and Its Tributaries*, 26; Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* 81; Warren, *Para*, 65.

While these opinions were shaped in part by the travelers' observations of urban slavery, where the enslaved enjoyed a high degree of autonomy,⁷⁸ they were also grounded on observations about rituals of paternalism in plantations. Alfred Wallace, for example, detailed how rituals of paternalism, most notably receiving the blessing from the master, were performed on a daily basis:

Every evening at Sunset all the workpeople [i.e. slaves plus Indians] come up to Senhor Calistro to say good-night or ask his blessing. He was seated in an easy chair in the verandah, and each passed by with a salutation suited to his age or station. The Indians would generally be content with "Boa noite" (good-night); the younger ones, and most of the women and children, both Indians and slaves, would hold out their hand, saying, "Sua benção" (your blessing), to which he would reply "Deos te [a]bençoe" (God bless you), making at the same time the sign of the Cross. Others –and these were mostly the old Negroes –would gravely repeat, "Louvado seja o nome do Senhor Jesu[s] Christo" ... to which he would reply, with equal gravity, "Para sempre" (for ever).

Wallace concluded that "Senhor Calixto attends to his slaves just as he would to a large family of children."⁷⁹ Fictional and non-fictional accounts both captured the same ritual in other Paraense plantations. William Edwards observed how planter Agostinho Lopes Godinho practiced a custom "usual upon these retired plantations. Soon after sunset all the house servants and the children of the estate came in form to ask the Senhor's blessing, which was bestowed by the motion of the cross, and some little phrase, as 'adeos.'"⁸⁰ Novelist Inglês de Souza portrayed the same practice in cacao plantations in Baixo Amazonas.⁸¹

Having all slaves ask the master for his blessing on a daily basis, or even elevating this action to the category of standard salutation, was an action with multiple cultural and symbolic

⁷⁸ Bezerra Neto, "Histórias Urbanas de Liberdade," 230-231. In general, the world of urban slaves in Belém did not differ much from that studied in João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

⁷⁹ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 81-83. A similar ritual may be found in Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 141.

⁸⁰ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 72.

⁸¹ De Souza, *O Cacauleista*, 44, 50, 69, 87.

meanings. It was simultaneously an act of submission and an act of recognition. By asking for the blessing, the slave demanded from the master the recognition of his or her belonging to the imagined family community of the plantation or mill. By giving the blessing to the slave, on the other hand, the master was expressing the hierarchy of power that organized symbolic and material relations in the micro-universe of the plantation. The blessing was accompanied by other rituals of paternalism that Wallace described. Senhor Calixto also granted “hearings” to his slaves: “Every evening, as they come round, they refer their several petitions: one wants a little coffee and sugar for his wife, who is unwell; another requires a new pair of trousers or a shirt; a third is going with a canoe to Pará, and asks for a milrei[s] to buy something.” Calixto usually granted such petitions, “because the slaves never begged for anything unreasonable,” to which the British naturalist added that “in fact, all [slaves] seemed to regard him in quite a patriarchal view.” Calixto also killed an ox and gave it to the slaves along with some rum to celebrate the religious festivities, which were declared holidays.⁸²

To what degree were foreign travelers correct in describing slavery as “little more than slavery in name”?⁸³ They were pointing to a reality of paternalist rituals in local plantations and mills that defined a series of mutual obligations and established rights. Nevertheless, when these observers translated their surprise at this system of ritualized coercion and mutual obligations into the notion that slavery was humane and “little more than slavery in name,” they were exaggerating the mildness of this labor regime. It seemed mild to them because they had in mind the eighteenth-century Caribbean model of large, mono-cultivated plantations with master-slave

⁸² Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 82.

⁸³ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 204.

relations devoid of any consideration beyond the extraction of labor.⁸⁴ In reality, those who resisted this system were severely punished, like the crippled slave who every day roamed the port of Prainha asking travelers to purchase him. Many other slaves had terrible scars or were mutilated, as advertisements of runaways from the period prove.⁸⁵ Labor discipline and racial hierarchies were inscribed in their bodies with wounds and amputations, sending a clear message: those who rejected this system of ritualized coercion and unequal obligations would pay with blood.

Planter paternalism was often expressed through the idioms of Catholic religion, a fundamental piece in the strategy of hegemonic domination. Most *engenhos* in the Guajarine region had “chapels attached to them,” the most visible part of a religious material culture that included hundreds of rosaries, images, medallions, paintings, crowns, and all types of liturgical objects, all of them detailed in probate records.⁸⁶ The slaves were led to participate in this religious culture that suited the needs of the masters: the family of a rich planter spent 280 milréis on mourning clothes for 10 of their 89 slaves upon the planter’s death in 1864.⁸⁷ Several travelers had the chance to attend religious ceremonies in plantation chapels; “similar customs prevail at most of the country *sítios*, and by many of the planters the blacks are trained up rigidly to the performance of these observances.”⁸⁸

In a region like the Amazon, where slaves who fled the plantations had good prospects of hiding in the forest, joining the maroons, or disappearing in Belém, rituals of submission to the

⁸⁴ This contrast is also emphasized by Blackburn, *A Queda do Escravismo Colonial, 1776-1848* (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2002).

⁸⁵ Salles, *O Negro no Pará*. 132-133.

⁸⁶ Maw, *Journal of a Passage*, 375. APEP-Orf, Maria Thereza de Moraes PMI, 1858; APEP-Orf, AnnaRaimunda Ferreira de Pastana PMI, 1864; APEP-Orf, Anna Aracema de Jesus Dos Passos PMI, 1864; APEP-Orf, Angela Maria de Goes PMI, 1865; APEP-IM, Francisca de Monteiro de Noronha PMI, 1865; CMA, João de Figueiredo Muniz PMI, 1871.

⁸⁷ APEP-Orf, Antônio José de Miranda PMI, 1864. Unreadable page number, approx. 340.

⁸⁸ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 52. See also De Souza, *O Cacauleta*, 80-3; Marcoy, *Viagem*, 282.

master were particularly necessary. Moreover, because gathering rubber or nuts implied sending the slaves far from the masters' supervision, these latter had to make sure that the slaves had internalized domination. In a word, the masters needed to generate hegemony.⁸⁹

But usually there was no priest in the chapels of the plantations, so for example in the estate of Caripé, in Marajó, "two of the old negroes conduct[ed] the service, kneeling at the altar," which was "gaily decorated with figures of the Virgin and Child, and several saints painted and gilt in a most brilliant manner."⁹⁰ The slaves not only participated in the religious calendar of festivities: by carving the images of the saints and decorating them, and by celebrating religious ceremonies in the absence of priests, they adapted this calendar to their own necessities and beliefs. This is why, in the absence of a formal chapel, the slave that Brown and Lidstone met at the Santa Anna ranch in 1873 on the Ituqui river, near Santarém, had "a room in the house called the chapel of St. Benedicto,"⁹¹ and why the maroons of the Curuá river, in Baixo Amazonas, maintained and developed their own religious rituals long after they had run away from cacao plantations.⁹² While Catholic rituals were intended to play a role in generating slaves' consent, by carving their own saints and devising their own rituals enslaved individuals contested the religious space, transforming it into a new arena of struggle and negotiation.

⁸⁹ The additional levels of control and autonomy implied in tropical forest extractivism are discussed in Bolland, "Timber Extraction," 57. For analogous cases of religion used to generate hegemony, see O. Nigel Bolland, 'The Politics of Freedom in the British Caribbean', in *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America* (Belize: Angelus Press, 1997), 184; Javier Laviña, *Cuba: Plantación y Adoctrinamiento* (Tenerife: Ediciones Idea, 2007).

⁹⁰ Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* 64. See also Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, 88.

⁹¹ Brown and Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and Its Tributaries*, 128.

⁹² Coudreau, *Voyage au Rio Curuá*, 20.

4.6 TRANSFORMATIONS

In the second half of the nineteenth century the economy of Pará expanded, and so did its labor market. New incentives like providing cash payments and implementing a task system in plantations and mills had to be put in place to prevent the slaves' fleeing from the plantations. The task system had several additional advantages both for the masters and for the slaves. For the former, a task system in which the slaves were paid salaries for overwork increased productivity and made it less disturbing to employ free laborers alongside the slaves. For the slaves themselves, it provided a way to obtain cash income, and therefore to access market goods like clothes, trinkets, or better food.⁹³

While the task system had been long established in Brazilian cities, there is evidence that it also appeared in the Amazonian countryside after the Cabanagem.⁹⁴ We know of the payments effected by Senhor Godinho to his slaves, who "upon holidays or other times received regular wages for their extra labour." Larry, the slave who guided Bates and Wallace in their excursions around Mr. Upton's rice mill in Maguary, worked "filling and marking the sacks [of rice], and, being paid a price for all above a certain number, he earned regularly between two and three dollars a week."⁹⁵ Larry seems to have enjoyed a somewhat privileged position on his plantation,

⁹³ O. Nigel Bolland, "'Proto-Proletarians?' Slave Wages in the Americas: Between Slave Labour and Free Labour," in *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America*, ed. O. Nigel Bolland (Belize: Angelus Press, 1997), 105, 114; John Campbell, "As 'a Kind of Freeman?': Slaves' Market-Related Activities in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860," in *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas*, ed. Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan (London: Frank Cass, 1991); Morgan, "Work and Culture." See also Mary Turner, ed., *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995).

⁹⁴ George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America: 1800-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 15. For Belém, see for example Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, 341.

⁹⁵ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 72, 40.

although his high salary was by no means unique. In Abric Diniz's sawmill, the slaves in charge of loading the barges with lumber received three milréis per barge completed, and this was probably one of a group of paid tasks.⁹⁶ It is difficult to estimate the importance of cash payments to the slaves, but it is undeniable that they were significant.

Beyond the changes internal to the system of slave labor, the second half of the nineteenth century also witnessed the growth of rubber exports. Rubber gradually became the province's leading export during the 1850s, and by the late 1870s it accounted for 80% of the value of Paraense exports. Between 1898 and 1910 it would be most important Brazilian export, only behind coffee.⁹⁷ The traditional landed elite heavily critiqued the new extractive economy: lured by rubber tapping, they argued, Amazon peasants abandoned agricultural activities, reducing the production of food crops.⁹⁸

Nevertheless, the link between the emergence of rubber exports and the apparent demise of agricultural production, of which the plantation economy was a part, was not as straightforward as contemporary intellectuals and politicians argued. Recent research has argued that perceived agricultural shortages in the last decade of the 1800s were not the result of a displacement of labor from the agricultural to the extractive sector, but instead reflected local agriculture's inability to respond to a rapidly growing local demand for foodstuffs.⁹⁹ In 1849 the

⁹⁶ APEP-Orf, Abric Diniz PMI, 1869, 96.

⁹⁷ Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom: 1850-1920*, 156-176.

⁹⁸ Pará, *Falla Dirigida pelo Exmo. Sr. Conselheiro Jeronimo Francisco Coelho, Presidente da Provincia do Gram Pará a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na Abertura da Segunda Sessão Ordinaria da Sexta Legislatura no Dia 1º de Outubro de 1849* (Belém: Typographia de Santos & Filhos, 1849), 22; Pará, *Relatorio do Exmo. Senr. Angelo Thomaz do Amaral Presidente da Provincia do Gram-Pará ao Exmo. Vice-Presidente Olyntho José Meira por Occasião de Passar-lhe a Administração da Mesma* (Belém: Typ. de Santos & Irmãos, 1861, 1861), A13; Pará, *Relatorio ... 1875*, 60; Penna, *Noticia Geral das Comarcas de Gurupá e Macapá*, 29.

⁹⁹ Robin Anderson, "Following Curupira: Colonization and Migration in Pará, 1758 to 1930 as a Study in Settlement of the Humid Tropics" (University of California, Davis, 1976), 68-73. A partially similar argument can be found at Luciana Marinho Batista, "Muito Além dos Seringais: Elites, Fortunas e Hierarquias no Grão-Pará, C.1850-C.1870" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2004), 69-70.

county of Belém hosted 33,099 inhabitants; by 1882 this number had almost doubled, to 57,285. In 1900 it increased to 96,560, and by 1912, at the peak of the rubber boom, it had skyrocketed to 275,167.¹⁰⁰ When primitive agricultural and ranching activities proved unable to feed the urban population, landed elites blamed the extractive economy for causing a labor shortage in the production of foodstuffs.

Economic changes caused by the population increase did affect the plantation economy of the Guajarine area, although not by causing labor dislocations. During the second half of the 1800s, and especially after the 1870s, planters decided to invest their capital in more dynamic economic sectors. A look at the evolution of some prominent Paraense fortunes sheds light on where those investments went. With his designation as Baron of Jaguarary by Emperor Dom Pedro I in 1830, Ambrosio Henriques da Silva Pombo became the first Paraense aristocrat. His descendants built their patrimony thanks to the 8,000 to 10,000 head of cattle that Pombo had in the Mojú river, but they added substantial properties to his holdings. In 1870 it was calculated that his nephew José Henriques da Silva Pombo possessed one third of the total value of the Mexiana island, in Marajó, including rubber-tree holdings.¹⁰¹ A similar path was followed by Manoel João Corrêa de Miranda, member of a dynasty of politicians and landowners from the county of Igarapé-Miry. Before dying in 1870, Miranda became godfather of Valeriana Castro, daughter of powerful rubber exporter Francisco da Silva Castro. Thanks to this alliance, Miranda

¹⁰⁰ Anderson, "Following Curupira," 69.

¹⁰¹ Rosa Acevedo, "Alianças Matrimoniais na Alta Sociedade Paraense no Século XIX," *Estudos Econômicos* 15 (1985), 157; Batista, "Muito Além dos Seringais," 98.

left several rubber trails in his will.¹⁰² Pombo and Miranda were not alone in diversifying their investments to include rubber: many other planters did so as the new century approached.¹⁰³

When Antônio José de Miranda, from the same family as Manoel José, passed away in 1865, he owned the Aproaga sugar plantation plus two large cattle ranches and several pieces of urban real estate.¹⁰⁴ Half a century later his son Vicente Chermont de Miranda had acquired 13 more urban properties plus seven rural holdings in Marajó and the Capim river.¹⁰⁵ He had realized that urban real estate in Belém was becoming more and more valuable due to Pará's demographic growth, and that investing his savings in that area was safer than in local banks. Another member of the family, Justo José Corrêa de Miranda, came to the same conclusion and purchased 8 buildings in the state capital, eventually accumulating a fortune of almost 148 contos, or £ 13,246, at his death in 1878.¹⁰⁶ Cattle ranching in Marajó was also an activity that had always been very profitable, and became even more so during the rubber era.

In sum, by the 1870s there was a gradual drain of capital from rural properties using slave labor towards more dynamic sectors like rubber tapping, commerce, urban real estate, and cattle ranching. According to historian Cristina Donza Cancela, the richest men in Pará between 1870 and 1920 were 11 export merchants, 5 cattle ranchers, and 2 rubber landowners, all of them with fortunes of more than £ 50,000. Only 2 members of the regional elite were planters, and their

¹⁰² Ângelo, "A Trajetória dos Corrêa de Miranda," 22.

¹⁰³ CMA, José Joaquim Alves Picanço PMI, 1880; Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 179; Rodrigues, *Exploração e Estudos do Valle do Amazonas*, 10; Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 59.

¹⁰⁴ APEP-Orf, Antônio José de Miranda PMI, 1864; Victorino Coutinho Chermont de Miranda, *A Família Chermont: Memória Histórica e Genealógica* (Rio de Janeiro: ?, 1982), 41-43; Rodrigues, *Exploração e Estudos do Valle do Amazonas*, 26.

¹⁰⁵ CMA, Odon Notary Fund, "Carta de Sentência formal de partilha passada em favor do herdeiro Pedro Geyselaar Chermont de Miranda," 1922. See also Instituto de Terras do Pará (ITERPA), Índice de Títulos de Propriedade, entry Vicente Chermont de Miranda.

¹⁰⁶ CMA, Justo José Corrêa de Miranda PMI, 1878, also quoted in Ângelo, "A Trajetória dos Corrêa de Miranda," 27; Antônio's inventory is CMA, Antônio Francisco Corrêa Caripuna, 1877.

fortunes did not reach £ 20,000, reflecting the progressive decay of the plantation sector in relation to more dynamic ones.

A different process, not related to the rubber boom, dealt the final blow to the plantation economy of Pará: the abolition of slavery. Due to natural reproduction and the internal slave trade from other Brazilian provinces, the slave labor force of Pará maintained a remarkable stability between 1849 and 1872.¹⁰⁷ In the initial year of that period Belém, the Guajarine basin, and the Lower Tocantins hosted 19,862 enslaved individuals, representing 60% of all the slaves in Pará. In 1856, the slave population of these areas increased to 20,593 slaves, concentrating 62.5 % of all the Paraense slaves. By 1872 it had remained stable and consisted of 19,475 individuals, now representing 72% of all slaves in the state. By 1878 the Free Womb Law had reduced the local slave population to 19,183, amidst a growth of the overall population thanks to the arrival of European and Nordestino immigrants. In 1885, the *Sexagenários* law and the gradual increase in the rate of manumissions had lowered this number even further, to 13,985, and in 1888, on the eve of abolition, only 7,140 persons were still enslaved.¹⁰⁸

4.7 ENTERING THE PATHS OF FREEDOM

While in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries African slaves were newcomers to the Amazon, by the second half of the 1800s they had come a long way in adapting themselves to

¹⁰⁷ Bezerra Neto, *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará*, 38-41.

¹⁰⁸ Anderson, "Following Curupira," 69, 101.

the region. Some had done so by forming maroon communities, but many others, as shown in this chapter, underwent a process of creolization on local plantations, farms and ranches.¹⁰⁹ Slaves had become more attached to kin and place: the sex ratio was now balanced, new African arrivals had almost disappeared, and several generations of the same slave families often lived together in the same plantation. While some of these changes can be attributed to external factors like the end of the slave traffic, other transformations had to do with slaves' refusal to become mere workers without social bonds of any kind.

“Collective resistance is, at bottom, a process of everyday organization, one that, in fact, depends upon connections and trust established through everyday actions ... if it is to be successful, collective resistance also depends upon the remapping of everyday life.”¹¹⁰ Between 1850 and 1888 enslaved Afro-Brazilians in the Amazon did establish trust and connections with each other, thus remapping everyday life. Through years of silent but relentless change they learned and practiced the Amazon peasant economy, traded with itinerant merchants, created a religious life that gradually separated itself from that of their masters, and formed extensive families. These were individual (and sometimes collective) decisions that laid the foundations of what would become a reconstituted peasantry in years to come. Where slave gangs had existed before, black peasant communities could now emerge.

After 1888, some ex-slaves chose to migrate to Belém or other cities, where the rubber trade opened new labor niches. Others took their chances in rubber extraction. But especially in the old plantation region around Belém, others chose to become black *caboclos*. But what

¹⁰⁹ On creolization see the classic Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *O Nascimento da Cultura Afroamericana: Uma Perspectiva Antropológica* (Rio de Janeiro: PALLAS / CEAB, 2003). Current discussions on the issue in James H. Sweet, "Mistaken Identities? Olaudah Equiano, Domingos Álvares, and the Methodological Challenges of Studying the African Diaspora," *The American Historical Review* 114, 2 (2009), 280-283.

¹¹⁰ Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, 1 (2003).

arrangements would the ex-slaves reach in order to stay on their former plantations? How did the gradual abandonment of plantations in the Guajarine area affect their practices and ideas of attachment to the land? And what were the obstacles and problems in this process? This is the subject of next chapter.

5.0 “CITIZENS OF TAUAPARÁ”: APPROPRIATING LAND IN CACAU (VIGIA, PARÁ), 1874-C.1960

In 1944, the rancher Rodolfo Englehard received a peculiar visit in his farm on the island of Marajó. A group of four Afro-descendant tenants living in the Santo Antônio da Campina ranch, on the island of Colares, near Belém, came to Englehard to protest, alleging that an overseer of the ranch had charged the 42 families of the community of Cacau with rent for living within the ranch's boundaries. “I was born and raised there, and so were my mother and my father, and all my family,” argued Seu Nunhes, one of the tenants; “how come we should pay?” Englehard replied that the rent was valid, because the tenants were extracting various natural resources from the island. Seu Nunhes then showed him an old 1908 document listing the families living inside the Campina ranch. “No, Sir,” he insisted, “you either liberate us from any payment or,” if they eventually decided to leave the ranch, “you will pay compensation.” After some discussion, Englehard granted their petition: they could live in their community, cultivate the land, and use the natural resources of the property without paying any rent.¹

This story is surprising for many reasons. Apparently, the peasants believed that, despite Englehard's purchase of the Campina ranch, the area where they resided belonged to them. Why

¹ Interview with Manoel da Conceição de Mello (Seu Nunhes, born 1926), Vigia, March 11, March 31, 2009, and August 10, 2010.

did they think so? I will argue that this idea originated in two related processes. In the first place, the Afro-descendant tenants had appropriated the land through their practices. They descended from the slaves who worked in Campina when it was a sugar plantation, and after emancipation in 1888 some of them stayed there, now as freedmen. They engaged in subsistence agriculture and occasionally in wage labor, gathered various products from the forest and the river, and lived according to their own seasonal cultural and religious calendar. In the second place, the tenants also developed a narrative about their belonging to the land they inhabited, which translated into a claim of possession. I will show how this narrative was nourished by a series of episodic encounters with the “legal” landowners of Campina, and by the peasants’ own notions of customary land law.

The evolution of the Campina peasant community during the decades after emancipation reflects that of other black peasant communities descending from the *senzalas* in the plantation parishes of the Guamá, Capim, Acará, Mojú, and lower Tocantins rivers. After emancipation the ex-slaves took different life paths, as evinced by cases from other Brazilian regions. However, a number of them continued to live in the former *senzalas* and evolved into black peasant communities, constantly renewing their collective bonds through kinship, work, culture, and religion. As we saw at the end of Chapter 4.0 , the large captive labor forces that some planters maintained in the last decades of slavery had certainly developed some community bonds. While some of them have recently been the subject of anthropological and historical studies,² this chapter will analyze the micro-history of a specific black community.

² See for example Rosa Acevedo and Edna Castro, *No Caminho das Pedras de Abacatal: Experiência Social de Grupos Negros no Pará* (Belém: UFPA / NAEA, 2004); Edna Castro, ed. CD-ROM *Quilombolas Do Pará* (Belém: UFPA/NAEA, 2005).

It is also important to explain why the black peasants from Campina decided to confront Rodolfo Englehard, a powerful landowner. According to Brazilian historiography, the 1850 Land Law had stipulated that land could only be acquired by purchase, removing the possibility of appropriation by customary use, and therefore reinforcing the power of landed oligarchies. Were the Cacaúenses, then, acting naively or perhaps foolishly when they claimed property over the land? I will show how their actions were instead based on a “moral economy” of land acquisition by customary use. This moral economy had a legal basis: adverse possession could be considered a valid means of achieving property in judicial disputes over land.³ By observing how social relations, custom, law, and narratives about a common past all interacted, we will achieve a more nuanced and dynamic understanding of the Afro-Brazilian historical experience during the post-emancipation period in Amazonia.

5.1 ORGANIZING SPACE AT THE SANTO ANTÔNIO DA CAMPINA PLANTATION

On June 6, 1874, Domingos Antônio Raiol, Baron of Guajará, purchased the Santo Antônio da Campina plantation. The plantation was located along the Tauapará river, on an island facing the city of Vigia, about 50 miles north of Belém. It included “an oxen-powered sugarmill ... houses

³ The concept is obviously from Edward Palmer Thompson, “La Economía “Moral” de la Multitud en la Inglaterra del Siglo XVIII,” in *Costumbres En Común* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1995): 213-294. Two other works have inspired my combination of oral and written sources in this chapter: Robert Darnton, *La Gran Matança de Gats i altres Episodis de la Història Cultural Francesa* (València: Universitat de València, 2006), and Ariel de la Fuente, *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency During the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870)* (Durham / London: Duke University Press, 2000). Also Rebecca Scott, “The Provincial Archive as a Place of Memory: Confronting Oral and Written Sources on the Role of Former Slaves in the Cuban War of Independence (1895-98),” *History Workshop Journal*, 58 (2004): 149-66.

in a bad state, cattle, tools, [fifty-seven] slaves, improvements [*bemfeitorias*],” and several parcels of land (Cacao, São José, Pedreira, São Thiago, and Cumihy), all located very near the *engenho*.⁴ The spatial arrangement of the Campina plantation in this period indicates at first sight that productive spaces were well delimited and distributed following the logic of capitalist profit. It was a typical New World plantation, built around the goal of making and exporting sugar. However, a closer look will reveal that there were spaces for paternal interaction between the planter and the slaves, who altered productive spaces to obtain a higher degree of spatial mobility, a “historical geography” opposed to that of their master.⁵

It is not known when the plantation was created. When the Cabanagem revolt took place in 1835, it was owned by Agostinho José Lopes Godinho, a successful Portuguese merchant.⁶ “In the troubles of ’35 the Senhor was compelled to flee the country ... and is [sic] the sacking of his place sustained great loss,” explained American entomologist William Edwards when he visited Campina in 1846. By that year, however, the plantation was running again: “everything about indicated opulence and plenty (...) two mills constantly employed were insufficient to dispose of his [Godinho’s] yearly crop.”⁷ About 30 years later, the Baron of Guajará purchased the Campina plantation.

Its main workspace was originally the tide mill. When the flowing tide came, water from the Campina creek was stored in natural pools thanks to a dam; during the ebbing tide, the stored

⁴ ITERPA, *Livro de Títulos de Propriedade* no. 1 from Vigia, pp. 10-14, Register of the Sale Certificate in the City Council of Vigia on October 28, 1891. A copy of the transcription can be found at Rosa Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra: Cadeia de Apropriação e Atores Sociais em Conflito na Ilha de Colares* (Belém: UFPA, 2004), 255-260.

⁵ The concept is from Nicholas Blomley, “Landscapes of Property,” *Law & Society Review* 32, 3 (1998): 567-612. See also Neal Milner, “Ownership Rights and the Rites of Ownership,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 18, 2 (1993): 227-253; Edward W. Soja, *Geografias Pós-Modernas: A Reafirmação do Espaço na Teoria Social Crítica* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1993), Ch.8.

⁶ ITERPA, *Livro de Títulos de Propriedade* no. 1 from Vigia, 13; William H. Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon Including a Residence at Pará* (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1861), 68-73.

⁷ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 68, 71.

water was directed to an artificial water channel, spinning a waterwheel that drove the mill rollers (Figure 5.1).⁸ Conditions in the mouth of the Amazon river were favorable to tide mills: the difference of four meters between the high and the low tide was pronounced, and the seasonal combination of sea and river water increased the fertility of the soil. The remains of almost forty tide mills in this area attest to their success.⁹ As can be inferred from Figure 5.1, tide mills demanded the erection of hydraulic structures: a dam, a stone or masonry channel to funnel the water propelling the waterwheel, and the machinery to convey energy to the rollers in the mill. These structures required large amounts of capital and were thus confined to properties owned by rich planters or religious orders.¹⁰ The hydraulic structures of the Campina tide mill existed until approximately 1943,¹¹ although under Godinho's ownership the mill was moved by oxen, and the water stored at the dam was used instead to propel barges out to surrounding rivers.¹²

⁸ Fernando Luiz Tavares Marques, "Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial no Estuário Amazônico: Estudo Arqueológico de Engenhos dos Séculos XVIII e XIX" (PhD Thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 2004), 34; ——— and Scott Douglas Anderson, "Engenhos Movidos a Maré no Estuário do Amazonas: Vestígios Encontrados no Município de Igarapé-Miri, Pará," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi - Série Antropologia* 8, 2 (1992): 295-301. On tide mills, see Esterzilda de Azevedo, *Arquitetura do Açúcar: Engenhos do Recôncavo Baiano no Período Colonial* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1990), 37; John Nicholson, *The Operative Mechanic and British Machinist; Being a Practical Display of the Manufactures and Mechanical Arts of the United Kingdom* (London: Knight and Lacey, Paternoster-Row; and Westley and Tyrrell, 1825), 94-128, 104-105; John S. Skinner, "Tide Mills of Easton, Md," in *The American Farmer: Containing Original Essays and Selections on Agriculture, Horticulture, Rural and Domestic Economy, and Internal Improvements: With Illustrative Engravings and the Prices of Country Produce* ed. John S. Skinner (Baltimore, MD: John D. Toy, 1828). See also <http://sites.google.com/site/molinosdemarea> (accessed May 2011).

⁹ Marques, "Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial," 34, 38.

¹⁰ Esterzilda de Azevedo, *Arquitetura do Açúcar: Engenhos do Recôncavo Baiano no Período Colonial* (São Paulo: Nobel, 1990), 41.

¹¹ Interview with Sylvia Helena Tocantins (born 1933), March 3, 2009.

¹² Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 68. ITERPA, Register of the Sale Certificate ...

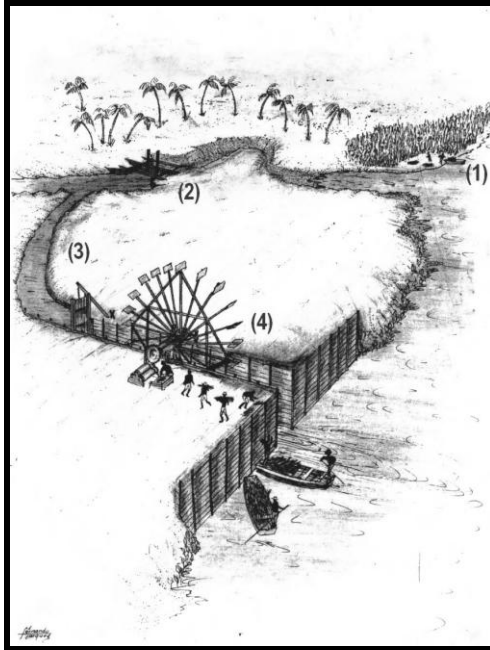


Figure 5.1. Functioning of a Tide Mill¹³

Back to Mr. Edwards's visit to Campina in 1849. Godinho accommodated the entomologist and his companions in the *casa-grande*, where the master's family and household slaves lived. The *casa-grande* "was decorated with objects from Europe. It had two stories and many rooms," explained Dominga de Moraes, a former household servant of the Baron, as well as "long gloomy corridors, courtyards and windows everywhere," and "heavy doors with iron bolts."¹⁴ The upper floor was occupied by the planter, his family, and their slaves; the lower floor

¹³ 1) Sugarcane is grown in a nearby igarapé. 2) The high tide fills the reservoir, where a dam stores the water; 3) it is then directed to 4) a narrow artificial channel, where it spins a waterwheel, which in turn propels the mill. Source: Marques, "Modelo da Agroindustria Canavieira Colonial," 28.

¹⁴ Quotations from interview with Domingas Moraes (unknown DOB – probably late 1800s), "Raiol na Lembrança de sua Escrava," *O Liberal*, November 14, 1976, from Sylvia Helena Tocantins, *No Tronco da Sapopema: Vivências Interioranas* (Belém: Imprensa Oficial, 1998), 34. Interview with Sylvia Helena Tocantins (born 1933), March 3, 2009.

probably by the overseer and his own family, following a model common in eighteenth-century Bahia and Rio de Janeiro.¹⁵ However, while in Bahia or southeastern Brazil most masters' houses were located on higher ground, dominating the plantation from a symbolic and material position of power and privilege, on the flat terrain of Campina this was not possible. Nonetheless, those who knew the *casa-grande* always describe it as "very beautiful," "huge," and "seigneurial."¹⁶ A two-story building made of masonry and housing a powerful master undoubtedly made its impact in rural Pará, where the peasants' huts were usually humble cabins made of mud and thatch.

Very near the masters' house was the chapel, another classic element of plantations in Pará, and elsewhere in Brazil.¹⁷ It was consecrated to Santo Antônio and contained an image of the saint brought from Portugal. Both Godinho and Raiol were deeply religious, infusing Catholic practices to their slaves. A member of the Irmandades of Nossa Senhora de Nazareth and of Senhor Bom Jesus dos Passos, Godinho conferred his blessing upon them on a daily basis, following the Catholic rituals of submission that were practiced on so many other plantations.¹⁸ Raiol continued the functioning of the chapel and its images.¹⁹ It was still standing in the 1930s, when it was visited by one Father Falcão from Vigia, and according to a local resident, "all the inhabitants of the region came there [to celebrate different liturgies]."²⁰

¹⁵ "Raiol na Lembrança de Sua Escrava," *O Liberal*, 14 November 1976; Interview with Sylvia Helena Tocantins (born 1933), March 3, 2009. On the *casagrande* in other states, see De Azevedo, *Arquitetura do Açúcar*, 96, 106; Nancy Naro, *A Slave's Place, a Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil* (London and New York: Continuum, 2000), 52-55; Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantation in the Formation of Bahian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 283.

¹⁶ Interview with Sylvia Helena Tocantins (born 1933), 3/3/09; Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 13, 2009; Tocantins, *No Tronco da Sapopema*, 34.

¹⁷ De Azevedo, *Arquitetura do Açúcar*, 96, 119.

¹⁸ See Chapter 4.

¹⁹ "Raiol na Lembrança de Sua Escrava."

²⁰ Interview with Seu Nunhes (born 1926), March 11, 2009.

Data about the *senzala* are scant. It is possible that a large building with cubicles for the slaves existed; other sugar mills dating from the 17th and 18th centuries had large, “L-shaped” slave barracks containing 15 to 20 cubicles and often a veranda.²¹ However, L-shaped slave barracks only appear in an oral testimony gathered by writer Sylvia Helena Tocantins in her childhood, in the early 1940s;²² neither William Edwards’ account from 1849, nor the Baron’s sale deed from 1874, nor any other later sale deed make mention of them. What the sale deeds from 1874 and from 1928 do mention are “houses in a bad state,” the former, and “palm-thatched huts,”²³ the latter, structures more in tune with the process of cabocization that slaves were experiencing by the time the Baron purchased Campina. Edwards had described in a brick factory nearby “the houses of the blacks, structures made by plastering mud upon latticed frames of wood, and thatched with palm-leaves”; other foreign visitors commented on similar living spaces in the same decade.²⁴

According to Edwards, in Campina “the negroes and oxen were driving the sugar-mills; the steam-pipe of the distillery was in full blast; and stacks of demijohns and jars were piled in the rooms, or standing ready to receive the *cachaça* or molasses.” He had inadvertently listed all the tasks performed in Campina, in addition to fabricating sugar. *Cachaça* was distilled, since it was cheaper and easier to fabricate than sugar. Bricks, tiles, and earthenware were made in an earthenware factory, including the “demijohns and jars” used to process, store, and sell the

²¹ Like the Murutucú, Mocajuba, and Jaguarari *engenhos*, see Marques, “Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial”, 81, 101, 107-108.

²² Tocantins, *No Tronco da Sapopema*, 64.

²³ ITERPA, *Livro de Títulos de Propriedade* no. 1 from Vigia, pp. 10-14, “Register of the Sale Certificate ... 1891;” “Certidão” of the Santo Antônio da Campina property, Cartório do 3º Ofício de Notas de Belém from May 23, 2003, in Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra*, 247-254.

²⁴ Emilio Carrey, *O Amazonas: Segunda Parte: Os Revoltosos do Pará: Descrição de Viagem, Traduzida e Annotada por F. F. da Silva Vieira* (Lisboa: Typographia do Futuro, 1862), 282; Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 54; John Esaias Warren, *Para; or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851), 213.

brandy and the sugar. A few head of cattle grazed in a nearby prairie, which Edwards found “irresistible.”²⁵ Finally, foodstuffs from both the floodlands (*varzea*) and the areas further away from the river were grown or gathered for consumption and sale.²⁶ The harvesting of river crabs and *açaí* berries, the hunting of pacas and agoutis, and fishing, were all routine activities on the plantation.²⁷ Free workers under tenancy contracts lived with their families in different land plots (*sítios*) producing foodstuffs. Over the years some of these *sítios* would disappear, but others would constitute the basis for the formation of free peasant communities like Cacau.

5.2 CAMPINA IN TRANSITION

During the era of slavery the owners of Campina developed mechanisms of coercion and negotiation to maintain the slaves under control. One form of physical punishment was whipping, which left indelible marks in the collective memory of the locals.²⁸ But using the stick without the carrot was not a very effective way of handling the slave labor force, a lesson that all those who experienced the Cabanagem revolt surely learned. Therefore, Agostinho José Lopes Godinho performed rites of patronage using Catholic language as a mechanism of social control. “Soon after sunset all the house servants and the children of the estate came in form to ask the

²⁵ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 70.

²⁶ “No engenho da Campina ...,” *O Liberal da Vigia*, September 27, 1877.

²⁷ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 74.

²⁸ Interview with Seu Nunhes (born 1926), March 11 and March 31, 2009; Interview with Seu Zacarias (born 1943), April 1, 2009; Interview with Dona Bena (born 1922), April 1, 2009; Song no. 79, “Black in the Trunk,” Francisco Soeiro, “Collection of 85 Carimbó Lyrics,” (Vigia: Unknown year). Document provided by Paulo Cordeiro.

Senhor's blessing, which was bestowed by the motion of the cross, and some little phrase, as 'adeos.'"²⁹ According to William Edwards, the slaves also "had ways of earning money for themselves, and upon holidays or other times received regular wages for their extra labour." Some of them were allowed to navigate the rivers of the Tauapará region in small boats to hunt and fish, which sometimes implied carrying firearms.³⁰ For Edwards these measures resulted in an idyllic relationship between a master and his slaves: "they seemed to look up to the Senhor with a pride and affection which he fully reciprocated."³¹

The slaves used these "carrots" to feed their own social life. A fundamental part of that life was forming families: of the 58 slaves that appear in the 1874 sale deed of the Campina plantation, 38 of them (65.5%) had kinship relations among them, whether as parents or as brothers and sisters (see Appendixes A and B). Maria Cassange, an 87-year-old enslaved woman from Africa (probably from the kingdom of Kassanje, in Angola), lived in Campina with her three children, Calisto, who was 34, Rosa (39), and Feliciana (55). Catharina's daughter Josepha, who was 44 in 1874, had married Theodoro (30), who was also the brother of Dionizia (13) and Maria Libânia (23), all of them children of Libânia (60). Out of Theodoro and Josepha's union, Simplicio (4), Gonçalo (8), Carolina (9), Idalino (14), Jeronima (15), and Joaquina (17), were born over the years. In sum, 60-year-old Libânia lived with her three children and her seven grandchildren. Ingrácia (51) was in a similar situation to Libânia: her three children, Ângela (27), Eusebio (30), and Onofre (25), also lived in Campina, and Ângela was the mother of Alphonse (3) and Emiliana (6). Three other mothers lived with their children. Margarida, the mother of Vicente (9), Francisco (10), Roberto (20), and Antônio (23) was absent, although the knowledge

²⁹ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 72. On Catholicism and social control in plantations, see Laviña, *Cuba: Plantación y Adoctrinamiento*.

³⁰ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 72-73.

³¹ Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 72.

of her name implies that she may have lived in Campina too. While 43% of Campina slaves (n=25) were between 12 and 45 years old, the remaining 57% (33 individuals) were either younger than 12 or older than 45. Almost a quarter of all the slaves, 13 individuals, were younger than 12. In sum, the demography of the plantation was already in transition towards that of free people, as the high number of children and old slaves proves.

As the social bonds among the slaves of Campina became thicker, the Baron's political prestige also grew, leading him to stay away from Pará for longer periods. When he purchased the plantation in 1874, Raiol was already a lawyer, a respected member of the Liberal Party in the state and the national legislatures, and an important intellectual, thanks to the publication of *Motins Políticos: História dos Principaes Acontecimentos Políticos da Provincia do Pará desde o Anno de 1821 até 1835*, a famous chronicle of the Cabanagem revolt (including his father's death), and other works.³² Raiol's rising star shone further when in 1871 he married Maria Victoria Pereira de Chermont, the granddaughter of Antônio Lacerda de Chermont, Viscount of Arary.³³ When Raiol purchased Campina three years later he added his name to the list of powerful landowners in the region.³⁴ In the 1880s he became leader of the Liberal Party in Pará, and president of the province of Ceará in 1882. He also served as president of Alagoas and of

³² Luciano Demetrius Barbosa Lima, "Os Motins Políticos de um Ilustrado Liberal: História, Memória e Narrativa na Amazônia em Fins do Século XIX" (Unpublished MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2010), 42.

³³ Cristina Donza Cancela, "Casamento e Relações Familiares na Economia da Borracha (Belém 1870-1920)" (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006), 246, 255; Victorino Coutinho Chermont de Miranda, *A Família Chermont: Memória Histórica e Genealógica* (Rio de Janeiro: ?, 1982), 49-52; José Ildone, *Noções de História da Vigia* (Belém: Edições CEJUP, 1991), 57-58; Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Pará, *Catálogo da Primeira Série de uma Galeria Histórica* (Belém: Imprensa Oficial do Estado do Pará 1918), 36-7. See also Rosa Acevedo, "Alianças Matrimoniais na Alta Sociedade Paraense no Século XIX," *Estudos Econômicos* 15(1985).

³⁴ ITERPA, *Livro de Títulos de Propriedade* no. 1 from Vigia, pp. 10-14, Register of the Sale Certificate ... 1891; Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 67-72; Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom: 1850-1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), 40-41.

São Paulo,³⁵ and in 1883 was granted the title of Baron of Guajará by Emperor Dom Pedro II. When the First Republic was proclaimed in 1891, Raiol abandoned party politics and focused instead on his intellectual activities. With the publishing between 1890 and 1894 of the remaining 3 volumes of *Motins Políticos*, he became a famous historian; in 1900 he also founded the Historical and Geographic Institute of Pará and the Paraense Academy of Letters.³⁶

As his fortunes rose, Raiol purchased several mansions and lots in Belém, many of them in expensive downtown neighborhoods;³⁷ urban real estate came to occupy a prominent place among the Baron's investments. In 1885, he and two other prominent Liberals, the Baron of Guamá and Vicente Chermont de Miranda, requested the eviction of a group of 19 families who had squatted on land that belonged to the plaintiffs. The eviction process was reactivated after a hiatus of 5 years and carried out on May 16, 1890.³⁸ An eviction involving so many *posseiros* could have been used in the Conservative press to depict the Baron as tyrannical and anti-popular; for sure Raiol was counting on the political capital that he, Miranda and the Baron of Guamá had accumulated in their careers. But the Baron was willing to take risks to defend his urban properties because he knew that urban real estate was booming in Belém due to the skyrocketing exports of rubber. During the 1880s and the 1890s, Raiol was an absentee planter, interested mainly in urban real estate.

The lives of the Campina slaves were also changing. In many cases they became free even before final emancipation in 1888. In 1876, for example, Josepha was liberated thanks to

³⁵ Ildone, *Noções de História da Vigia*, 37; Instituto Historico e Geographico do Pará, *Catálogo da Primera Série de uma Galeria Histórica* 36-7.

³⁶ José Maia Bezerra Neto, "Os Fundadores de 1917, Herdeiros de 1900? IHGP 90 Anos: História, Memória e Tradições," in *Conference Memória e História do IHGP* (Belém: IHGP, 2007). In these years he published *Capítulos da História Colonial do Pará* (1894), *Visões do Crepúsculo* (1898), and *Juízo Crítico Sobre as Obras Literárias de Filipe Patroni* (1900). Ildone, *Noções de História da Vigia*, 58.

³⁷ For example in Manoel Barata or Campos Salles streets, or at Boulevard da República. Centro de Memória da Amazônia (CMA), Pedro Pereira de Chermont Raiol PMI, 1929, pp. 19-20.

³⁸ CMA, Autos de Despejo? Domingos Antônio Raiol e Vicente Chermont de Miranda, 1893, p.198.

the 700 milréis that the Slave Emancipation Fund paid to the Baron's firm Raiol and Brother.³⁹ Josepha's husband Theodoro was liberated the following year for 650 milréis by the same mechanism.⁴⁰ In 1883 and 1884 their children Gonçalo (18), Carolina (19), Simplício (14), Jerônima (25) and Gregório (20) followed suit.⁴¹ The Baron's commitment to eventual abolition seems to have benefitted the slaves in their bid for freedom. As a lawyer, Raiol had been a *curador de escravos* and an active supporter of gradual abolitionism since at least 1869.⁴² In 1877 he started to bring migrant agricultural workers to Campina,⁴³ and in 1884 he asked other notables from Pará to free their slaves.⁴⁴

The Campina slaves, then, built families, could move around the property, carried weapons, and perhaps even stayed on the plantation after becoming freedpersons. The Baron's actions, on the other hand, also transformed productive activities in Campina. He invested more heavily in urban real estate than in improving sugar production, imported free rural workers into Campina, and gradually came to use the property as a country house more than as a sugar plantation. Both the slave-owner and the slaves were moving away from slavery.

³⁹ 5A-CR, Arbitramento dos Escravos Theodoro e Josepha, de Raiol e Irmãos, 1876. Established by the Rio Branco Law of 1871, the Emancipation Fund provided money to buy the freedom of individual slaves. Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery* (Berkeley: University of Califórnia Press, 1972), 107-113.

⁴⁰ 5A-CR, Arbitramento dos escravos Theodoro, de Raiol e Irmãos, e Narciza, de Ma Victoria Ferreida de Miranda, 1877.

⁴¹ 5A-CR, Arbitramento dos escravos Gonçalo, Carolina, Simplicio, Jeronima e Gregorio (todos filhos de Josepha) de Raiol e Irmão, 1883; APEP – Ofícios da Junta Classificadora de Escravos – Emancipação do escravo Gregório, filho de Theodoro y Josepha, 1884; Ages based on [Section 1.01\(a\)\(i\)Appendix A](#).

⁴² CMA, Cartório Sarmento 14a Vara Cível –Ação de [unreadable] e nullificação de um papel individual sobre a liberdade do escravo de nome Manoel, 1887; José Maia Bezerra Neto, "Por Todos os Meios Legítimos e Legais: As Lutas Contra a Escravidão e os Limites da Abolição (Brasil, Grão-Pará: 1850-1888)" (PhD Dissertation, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2009), 209, 248-249, 356.

⁴³ CMA – Ação de nullificação ...; Maia Bezerra Neto, "Por Todos os Meios," 209; "No engenho da Campina ...," *O Liberal da Vigia*, September 27, 1877.

⁴⁴ *Diário de Notícias*, 14 Sept. 1884; thanks to José Maia Bezerra Neto for providing this reference.

5.3 CAMPINA TRANSFORMED

In 1888 the abolition of Brazilian slavery signaled the end of legal bondage in the Americas. After several days of raucous celebrations in the cities, numerous slaves roamed the roads for a few days to enjoy their freedom. As the initial joy evaporated, however, some found that staying on their former plantations, where they could sometimes maintain their former tasks in exchange for a salary, might be safer than venturing out into a world full of possibilities, but full of uncertainties too.⁴⁵ After 1888 the Campina sugar mill continued to function, although the Baron's death, in 1912, was a turning point. Between that year and the acquisition of Campina in 1928 by Plínio Campos, a rural proprietor from Vigia, work contracts and residential spaces significantly changed as a consequence of the freedmen's actions.

The Baron's sons were not interested at all in Campina. When the Baron died, José and Pedro Pereira de Chermont Raiol each received one half of the property, but their plans focused on urban professional careers, not on rural activities.⁴⁶ Campina bounced back and forth among the wills of the Baron, José, and the Baroness, ending up in 1925 entirely in the hands of Pedro, who sold it to Plínio Campos in 1928.⁴⁷ No memory whatsoever of the Baron's sons exists in Cacau. However, former Cacauense Ana Maria dos Santos remembers that her grandfather, freedman Gregório, son of the slaves Josepha and Theodoro, was in charge of overseeing the mill until it was sold to Campos in 1928. Gregório, who became Gregório Moraes, received a

⁴⁵ Guimarães, *Múltiplos Viveres*, 142, 235; Iacy Maia Mata, "'Libertos de Treze de Maio' e Ex-Senhores na Bahia: Conflitos no Pós-Abolição," *Afro-Ásia* 35(2007): 173-174; Rios and De Castro, *Memórias do Cativo*, 114-115, 204-211; Stein, *Vassouras*, 267.

⁴⁶ Pedro was a state congressman, and his siblings were two engineers and one lawyer, all of them living in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Fundação Cultural Tancredo Neves, "Registro Funebre: Baroneza do Guajará," *Folha do Norte*, September 21, 1925; CMA, Pedro Pereira de Chermont Raiol PMI, 1929, p. 5.

⁴⁷ Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra*, 250-251.

cash salary plus the right to live on and cultivate a plot along with his family. He moved there with his sisters Carolina and Jerônima, his wife Maria da Luz, and his children.⁴⁸ Between 1912 and 1928, then, a freedman became the administrator of a sugar mill – something not unheard of in Amazonia.⁴⁹

Dona Guilhermina da Conceição Goulart, born in 1916, and her brother Seu Nunhes, born in 1926, shared their memories of Campina under Campos's ownership, between 1928 and 1938. Work consisted of “going to the cane field, cutting cane, shouldering it, washing it, and bringing it to the sugarmill,” where it was processed to become sugar, cane brandy, and molasses.⁵⁰ The produce was still exported to Vigia and Belém, but unlike under slavery, the workers now received a salary, consisting of “one *tostão*, 200 réis, one *vintém*, a very low salary,” per day. Seu Nunhes recalled that physical punishment and the whipping trunk still existed, “but there was no disorder, because there was respect.”⁵¹ Seu Nunhes also recalled how the hydraulic system of the water mill was used to propel large barges out of the Campina *igarapé*. Visitors “embarked in the boat when they were going to leave. (...) They sat there, the blacks raised the lock gate, the water came out, and they moved away, away (...) It was a very well constructed thing.”⁵² Seu Nunhes, Dona Guilhermina, their parents Irineu and Theodora,

⁴⁸ Gregório is slave no. 41 in the 1874 list, Carolina is 32, and Jerônima 34; see (Section 1.01(a)(i)Appendix A). Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 13, 2009; interview with Ana Maria dos Rios (unknown DOB) by Paulo Cordeiro, August 17, 2010; Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra*, 118, 129; Paulo Cordeiro, *O Carimbó da Vigia* (Vigia, Brazil: Edição do Autor, 2010), 24.

⁴⁹ Bates, *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*, 87; Brown and Lidstone, *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and Its Tributaries*, 31-32, 128; Edwards, *A Voyage up the River Amazon*, 46, 131-135; Lieut. Wm. Lewis Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (Washington: Taylor & Maury, 1854), 336; Daniel P. Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil, Embracing Historical and Geographical Notices of the Empire and Its Several Provinces*, vol. 2 (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), 276; Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, 15.

⁵⁰ Interview with Seu Nunhes (born 1924), March 11, 2009. Information in this paragraph from the same interview and from the interview on March 31, 2009, unless otherwise stated.

⁵¹ Interview with Seu Nunhes (born 1926), March 31, 2009.

⁵² Interview with seu Nunhes, (born 1926), March 31, 2009. Similar recollections in interview with Seu Alcides (born 1940), March 26, 2009; interview with Seu Santana (born 1940), March 25, 2009; Seu Nunhes's version about

who was former slave Antônio's daughter, and other families and individuals, settled together in Mané João, a new area close enough to the mill but far from the sight of the *casa-grande*.⁵³ As mill workers, they were allowed to cultivate manioc fields and gather forest products; the group grew and formed a stable community known as Cacau.

While Seu Nunhes and Dona Guilhermina's families continued to be mill workers in the decades after 1888, and Gregório became a sort of overseer, other freedmen and their descendants gradually occupied lands on the outskirts of Campina after 1900. For example freedman Simplício, in his thirties by 1900, established himself in a community known as Terra Amarela.⁵⁴ Freedwoman Carlota went to live in Figênia accompanied by her siblings Andreza and João. Gonçalo, another brother of Gregório, moved to a *sítio* called São José, and Vicência, Vitorina and Nicolao, Leopoldina's children, went to live to Pedreira.⁵⁵ These communities sometimes existed only for a few years, like Figênia or Aiuê, or could last until the present, like Santo Antônio do Tauapará, Terra Amarela, or Guajará. Their size was highly variable, ranging from the four families in Aiuê to more than twenty in Terra Amarela. Their racial composition was equally variable: while some of them were formed almost exclusively by Afro-descendants and identified by others as black, others, like Guajará, were considered more *caboclo* and very soon started to witness marriages between freedpersons and white or *caboclo* peasants.

the dam was corroborated by Seu Cebola (born 1946, interviewed on March 10, 2009), by Dona Bena (born 1922), April 1, 2009, and by Domingas de Moraes, "Raiol na Lembrança de sua Escrava."

⁵³ These include for example Tio Laudegário (Section 1.01(a)(i)Appendix A), slave no. 51 in the 1874 list, and Alphonse and Emilian, Ângela's children. They are numbers 57 and 36 in the 1874 list. Slave Antônio, Dona Guilhermina and Seu Nunhes' maternal grandparent, is no. 47 in the 1874 list. Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 13, 2010; interview with Seu Nunhes by Paulo Cordeiro, August 16, 2010.

⁵⁴ In the 1874 list, Simplício was slave no. 55, see Section 1.01(a)(i)Appendix A. Interview with Seu Santana (born 1940), 3/25/09; interview with Dona Nadi and Seu Ramos (born 1953 and 1948), March 19, 2009; Acevedo, *Julgados da Terra*, 115.

⁵⁵ In the 1874 list, Carlota is no. 10, Andreza 35, João 56, and Laudegário 51. Gonçalo is 54, Vicência 30, Vitorina 31, and Nicolao 52. Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 31, 2009; interview with Seu Nunhes (born 1926), August 17, 2010.

These groups also became practically autonomous in the period after the Baron's death, perhaps a few years before. The new owners in years to come never attempted to extract corvée or cash payments from them, except in some specific cases. "No, Sir, we lived there and worked for ourselves," repeated Seu Alcides, whose grandparents lived in Ovos, echoing the answers of residents in other communities.⁵⁶ They benefitted from their peripheral situation in geographic and economic terms, and new owners like Campos or, later, Francisco de Mello, probably considered that the marginal situation and the antiquity of these groups made it inadvisable to sue them as illegal occupants.

Life under slavery had left its mark. In each community the family was the basic productive and social unit, although in a very flexible way: it was common to find children from different fathers in the same unit.⁵⁷ Mothers, on the other hand, seem to have maintained more stable links with their children. Village economies were an expansion of the internal economy of slavery, which in turn resembled that of the *caboclo* peasantry. They rested on three pillars. Manioc grounds formed the basis of subsistence, along with corn and perhaps rice; these items could also be sold to *regatões*. Because toasting the manioc to make flour required access to a manioc oven, pooling resources to buy one or two of them was a useful strategy and an advantage of forming communities, instead of isolated families. Other products cultivated by the Cacaueenses included pumpkins, yams, rice, corn, *quiabo*, watermelon and others.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Interview with Seu Alcides (born 1940), March 26, 2009; also Dona Bena (born 1922), April 1, 2009; Nadi Ferreira dos Santos (born 1948), March 3, 2009; Manoel Santana Ferreira (born 1940), interview on March 25, 2009.

⁵⁷ For example interview with Seu Vê, March 10, 2009 (unknown DOB); Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 13, 2009. Also, APEP, Livro de Batismo de Colares, 1895-1898, numbers 187, 190, 200, etc.

⁵⁸ Tocantins, *No Tronco da Sapopema*, 43, 63, 105-108, and in Octavio Ianni, *A Luta pela Terra: História Social da Terra e da Luta pela Terra numa Área da Amazônia* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978), 61-75; see also 5A-CR, Faustino Nicolau Monteiro PMI, 1874; 5A-CR, Manutenção de Posse, Antonio Manoel de Belem e Silva v. Miguel Arcangelo da Conceição e outros, 1880; 5A-CR, Manutenção de Posse, Serafina dos Anjos Pereira v. Carolino Palheta de Siqueira, 1905; 5A-CR, Protocolo de Audiências de Colares, April 19, 1910, Termo de Conciliação; 5A-

In the second place, forest items such as fruits, timber, vegetable fibers and nuts enriched villagers' diet and were also used as cash crops. Rubber, timber, turu, and river crabs were the most common. Hunting small mammals and reptiles, like *pacas*, agoutis, spider monkeys and turtles, and fishing, all provided protein.

Wage work was the third pillar. Village men worked on long-distance fishing expeditions that could take two weeks or more and reach Amapá and French Guiana.⁵⁹ Local options included working as domestic servants or as cowboys on ranches.⁶⁰ Seu Alcides' grandfather, from Terra Amarela, worked as a blacksmith on the Campina estate, and Seu Santana's grandmother and her brother Mané Brasilino worked as *braçais* or agricultural workers.⁶¹ These tasks were paid with a daily salary, although usually no contract was signed.

Unlike in the past, the working calendar was now dictated not by the needs of sugar but rather of manioc. The first step was "cleaning" the land, which was usually done with a *mutirão* or collective work. The vegetation cover was burnt and the manioc planted in June, earlier than in southern Brazil. The harvest came in April or May, and the manioc grounds were abandoned after 3 to 5 years.⁶² The agricultural cycle was in turn linked to a cultural calendar: the *mutirão* was an opportunity for a large celebration with inhabitants from other communities, often related to the locals by kinship ties. *Carimbó* music was played all night on the cleared field, where

CR, Manutenção de Posse, Fca. Nery Ferreira v. Antonio Ferreira e outros, 1911, p.53; 5A-CR, José Barriga PMI, p. 16.

⁵⁹ Interview with Dona Bena (born 1922), April 1, 2010; Cordeiro, *O Carimbó da Vigia*, 42-44; Maria Angélica Motta-Maués, "*Trabalhadeiras*" e "*Camarados*:" *Relações de Gênero, Simbolismo e Ritualização numa Comunidade Amazônica* (Belém: UFPA, 1993), 29-40; José Veríssimo, *José Veríssimo: A Pesca na Amazonia*, vol. 111, Monographias Brasileiras (Rio de Janeiro / São Paulo: Livraria Classica de Alves & C., 1895). Interview with Dona Osmarina (unknown DOB, c. 1948), March 10, 2009.

⁶⁰ Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 13, 2009; interview with Sylvia Helena Tocantins (born 1933), March 3, 2009.

⁶¹ Interview with Seu Alcides (born 1940), March 26, 2009; interview with Seu Santana (born 1940), March 25, 2009.

⁶² Warren Dean, *With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Atlantic Forest* (Berkeley and California: University of California Press, 1995), 26-27; Seu Cebola provided ample guidance on this subject. Interview with Seu Cebola (born 1946), March 10, 2009.

special drinks and *aluá* and *manicuera* were offered to all participants.⁶³ The party then moved to the *terreiros* or verandas located near the houses, the heirs of the ancient verandas of the plantation. Cacau remained the center of carimbó for the first and second-generation slave descendants from other communities: “at that time it was [played with] four drums. A tremendous tremor was felt ... when they started playing [in Cacau], we said ‘look, the carimbó is starting in Cacau, let’s go there!’ and oh God, we stayed there until sunrise.”⁶⁴ Such meetings were registered in carimbó lyrics emphasizing partying until sunrise, in compositions like “Dance, My People,” “I Want to See the Sunrise,” “At the Entrance of Samba,” and others.⁶⁵

In one carimbó song an anonymous composer explained how “I’m going, going, going / To Tauapará / To look for a girl / To marry her.”⁶⁶ Another sang “Fly, fly my *ariramba* [bird] / To build your nest / Where the *morena* dances samba.”⁶⁷ Both songs suggested the importance of traveling to local celebrations to find a potential spouse and build a family “nest.” For example, Dona Guilhermina’s father Irineu was originally born in the village of Araúba, near Colares. In a fishing expedition that visited Cacau he met Theodora, freedman Antônio’s daughter, and they married a little later, beginning an extensive family in the early 1900s.⁶⁸ Some decades later, Seu Alcides’ family experienced a similar pattern of geographic mobility. Born in Santo Antônio, Constâncio Alves de Jesus, Seu Alcides’ father, migrated in his youth to Conceição to work with

⁶³ Aluá is made of pineapple rind and cane liquor, while manicuera is a meal made with boiled water, manioc leaves, *tucupi* (a special sauce), and rice.

⁶⁴ Quotation from interview with Dona Nadi (born 1953), March 19, 2009; see interview with Seu Santana (born 1940), March 25, 2009; interview with Seu Zacarias (born 1943), April 1, 2009. Cordeiro, *O Carimbó da Vigia*, Ch. 1 and 2, tracing the participation of Cacaenses in the carimbó starting with the generation of Manoel do Ô, Constancio, and other members of Tauapará Zimba in the early 1900s in Cacau.

⁶⁵ Songs no. 26, 57, 54, from Soeiro, “Collection of 85 Carimbó Lyrics.” The collection, provided by Paulo Cordeiro, was put together during the 1950s. It is difficult to discern when they were composed, but to be sure some were composed in the early twentieth century. Interview with Domingas Moraes, “Raiol na Lembrança de sua Escrava,” *O Liberal*, November 14, 1976 (unknown DOB – probably late 1800s),

⁶⁶ Song no. 51, “Tenho Camisa de Meia,” Soeiro, “Collection of 85 Carimbó Lyrics.”

⁶⁷ Song no. 60, “Avoa Minha Ariramba,” Soeiro, “Collection of 85 Carimbó Lyrics.”

⁶⁸ Interview with Dona Guilhermina, March 13, 2009 (born 1916).

a relative; after marrying Maria do Carmo de Jesus in 1937, they moved again to the community of Ovos. Seu Alcides was born there in 1940, but in 1950 he settled in Cacau after a brief stay in Pedreira.⁶⁹ Seu Ramos, a present-day inhabitant of Terra Amarela, explained that after a brief and unsatisfactory labor experience in Vigia in the late 1940s, his parents moved back to Terra Amarela. “But we also lived in Santo Antônio, because my grandmother’s house was still there (...) families stuck together at that time.”⁷⁰

In other words, a fundamental characteristic of the Afro-descendant peasants of Cacau was a high degree of geographic mobility, an important difference from the time of slavery. By moving between Cacau and other communities they created new bonds of family, work, and residence, and by meeting periodically to perform or dance in carimbó parties, such bonds were strengthened and extended through cultural forms celebrating Catholicism, peasant autonomy, and rural life more broadly. Social structures and cultural habits laid the basis for a shared narrative of belonging to a common region and a common past, as will be shown next.

5.4 “THEIR BIRTH CRADLE”

The appropriation of Campina lands to form a community called Cacau is the material basis of the emerging narratives about belonging to a traditional land. However, a narrative is also built with pieces that are ideological and not exclusively material. I will argue that in Cacau the myth

⁶⁹ Interview with Seu Alcides, March 26, 2009 (born 1940).

⁷⁰ Interview with Seu Ramos, March 19, 2009 (born 1948).

of the original land⁷¹ was built using three elements: an imagined document, a series of encounters with different landowners, and the traditions of access to land circulating among peasants.

According to Guilhermina da Conceição Goulart, former slave Antônio's granddaughter, before the Baron's death in 1912 a man called Raimundo "went there [to Campina] to make a map for the owner. Raimundo then gave it to a man called Plínio Campos."⁷² Seu Zacarias, a 67-year-old inhabitant (born 1943) of another community mentioned that a *posse* deed had been granted to the Mané João inhabitants in 1908, and so did Seu Alcides, a Vigieense from Cacau who was born in 1940. Seu Zacarias, Seu Alcides, and Dona Guilhermina are referring to the same document: the "map," a *posse* deed listing all the families of slave-descendants who lived in the property of Campina in 1908.⁷³

We do not know exactly the circumstances surrounding this document. Perhaps the Baron agreed to grant the lands of Cacau to his former slaves, although this possibility makes little sense for Campina passed to his son upon the Baron's death. Another possibility is that the Baron gave them a *posse* deed that his son Pedro and the Baroness simply ignored. Or perhaps the Baron gave the slaves a *posse* deed of a *sítio* (farm) and this information was lost in the multiple sales of the estate. Still another hypothesis is that the "map" was in reality a simple

⁷¹ Also called Land of Myth by Jean Besson, "The Appropriation of Lands of Law by Lands of Myth in the Caribbean Region," in *Land, Law and Environment: Mythical Land, Legal Boundaries*, ed. Allen Abramson and Dimitrios Theodossopoulos (London: Pluto Press, 2000).

⁷² Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 13, 2009.

⁷³ A *posse* deed proves that an individual resides on and cultivates a plot of land. He is not a legal owner, though: it needs to be converted into an official property deed. Interview with Seu Zacarias (born 1943), April 1, 2009; interview with Seu Alcides (born 1940), March 26, 2009. The "map" also appeared in interviews with Seu Nunhes (born 1926), on March 11 and on March 31, 2009, and in an interview by Paulo Cordeiro with Seu Nunhes, August 10, 2010. It probably originated the belief that the lands of Cacau had been donated by the Baron to his slaves: "Raiol na Lembrança de sua Escrava," *O Liberal*, 14 November 1976; interview with Francisco Soeiro by Wilkler Almeida, in Wilkler Almeida, *Tauapará* (Vigia, PA: Edição do Autor, 2005), 60; Aécio Palheta, *Vigia ainda Ontem* (Belém: IOE, 1995), 79.

census or list of residents, crafted with an unknown purpose. Whatever its origins, this document was not important because of its legal value. Rather, it had been the first sign of legitimacy that the Cacaenses obtained in claiming the lands of Cacau: it thus became a powerful symbol in discourses asserting the slave-descendants' right to live in Cacau, as Dona Guilhermina, Seu Zacarias, and Seu Alcides' testimonies show.

Francisco Mello bought Campina from Campos in 1938 and, according to Dona Guilhermina, requested that the freedmen families work for him.⁷⁴ In making that request, Mello reportedly used the map of inhabitants. Sylvia Helena Tocantins, Mello's daughter, also related in her memoirs how her father employed some of the former slaves and their descendants, who "had lived there during slavery." These included Theodora, Dona Guilhermina's mother, Juvenal, a former slave who became Sylvia Helena's informant of oral stories from the time of slavery, and many others. Juvenal, in particular, seems to have been a valuable asset for Mello: having a deep knowledge of the region, he was designated as a hunter. Mello's choice is clear: he "did not want people from outside Tauapará to work the land, but rather the ones with roots"; apparently he valued the slave-descendants' attachment to the estate.⁷⁵ That he also attracted families of *retirantes*, migrants fleeing the droughts of northeastern Brazil, suggests Mello's preference for employing families instead of single men.⁷⁶ This would be an intelligent strategy in the Amazon where, from an employer's perspective, a stable workforce was difficult to obtain.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Interview with Dona Guilhermina (born 1916), March 13, 2009.

⁷⁵ Interview with Seu Cebola and Seu Nunhes by Paulo Cordeiro, August 10, 2010.

⁷⁶ Interview with Sylvia Helena Tocantins (born 1933), March 3, 2009; Tocantins, *No Tronco da Sapopema*, 81-95.

⁷⁷ João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho, "O Caboclo e o Brabo: Notas sobre Duas Modalidades de Força-de-Trabalho na Expansão da Fronteira Amazônica no Século XIX," *Civilização Brasileira* (1979): 121-125; Mark Harris, *Life on the Amazon: The Anthropology of a Peasant Village* (London: British Academy, 2001), 23, 31; Eugene Parker, "The Amazon Caboclo: An Introduction and Overview," in *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Eugene P. Parker (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and

Ilson Pereira de Melo (Seu Cebola) is Dona Guilhermina's son, born in 1946. His version of Mello's words reflects important aspects of the Cacaueses' interaction with him:

at that time [Mello] said 'ask them [those who had left Campina] to come back, because this is their birth cradle. Nobody has to leave (...) this belongs to the blacks born and raised here. If the owner wants to sell, then he needs to tell the new owner 'look, you have the map here: here they are. Here they have their families, eggs and flour, man and woman, so they should live here.'"⁷⁸

That Mello wanted the slave-descendants to keep on living in Campina is corroborated by Mello's daughter and by the oldest Tauaparaenses alive (Dona Guilhermina, Seu Nunhes). But what is important here is that when Seu Cebola recounts Mello's appeal, he is vindicating unrestricted access to the lands of Campina for the descendants of the slaves who lived there, and even for those who had left. Mello must have had his own plans for Campina, but Seu Cebola appropriated his words and transformed them into a legitimation of the Cacaueses' own strategies as peasants. Seu Cebola and Mello's words melt into a single discourse, reflecting how the latter's encounters with the black *roceiros* provided further elements to build a narrative of belonging to the land.

After Mello's departure in 1943 due to his daughter's death, Rodolfo Englehard acquired Campina with the goal of expanding ranching activities. Englehard made an initial attempt at changing the terms of the informal contract with the slave-descendants living at Campina, imposing a rent: 30% of forest products gathered by the residents (*turú*, crabs, fish, game, and wood).⁷⁹ Seu Nunhes, Manoel da Conceição de Mello, was Dona Guilhermina's

Mary, 1985), 33; Barbara Weinstein, "Persistence of Caboclo Culture in the Amazon: The Impact of the Rubber Trade, 1850-1920," in *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Eugene P. Parker (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985), 99, 105.

⁷⁸ Egg and flour, or "ovo e farinha," is a basic lunch in the region. Interview with Seu Cebola (born 1940), March 19, 2009.

⁷⁹ Interview with Seu Nunhes (born 1926), March 11, 2009. The amount was probably lower.

brother, born in 1926 in Mané João. He narrates how four representatives of Cacau and other communities went to visit Mr. Englehard's father, Alberto, mayor of Belém, to complain about paying rent:

We went there, to Belém, to Quadrinho Square, where Alberto Englehard [Rodolfo's father] lived (...) 'Colonel, I want to speak to the patron.' (...) 'Where are you from?' 'I'm from Vigia, from the fazenda Santo Antônio da Campina.' 'Oh, ok.' (...) 'Colonel, I live there. But your administrator prohibited us to do all that we do to produce something. We have lived there for years, we are born and raised there. How come we should pay? Then, what will I produce?' And do you know what he said? 'Yes, but what about the *paca* that you brought? What about the crabs, the manioc flour...? You are living there for free ...' Yes, that could be, we were living there for free, but how could we pay? We grew up there, taking care of the property for free!⁸⁰

The last sentence was pronounced in a tone of indignation. Seu Nunhes continues to explain that in case they were forced to pay,

I will leave, but you will pay compensation (...) look, 42 families of the blacks living there (...) now, think about it, how do you want those families to pay? No Sir, you either liberate us from any payment or you will pay us a compensation for the 42 families.' And then I showed him the paper I had in my pocket [a copy of the 1908 "map"] (...) And he said 'ok. You watch over the place of Mané João [Cacau].' And I said, 'Colonel, I can watch over it, but only if you put it on paper.' And he said 'ok, go to Soure and talk to Rodolfo, he will resolve the issue.'

Alberto Englehard paid for their trip to Soure, in the island of Marajó, where Rodolfo had his cattle ranch.

I told him 'Sir, I went to Belém and talked to the Colonel, he suggested that I came here to talk to you.' (...) 'yes, he called me to discuss the issue here.. Look, I will allow you to work there for free (...) so don't worry (...) your land there, it is a true paradise!' (...) And I said 'Of course, Sir, of course, I am born and raised there, and so are my mother and my father, and all my family, and we've been watching it over for free, Sir. (...) And he said 'Ok then, you take care of the place ['É, toma aí conta de lá.'].'

⁸⁰ All fragments from interviews with Seu Nunhes (born 1926) from March 11, March 31, 2009, and August 10, 2010.

But this was not enough:

And I said ‘No, that’s not the way, Sir. You give me a stamped document, and I’ll do it. Because I’m not here alone, I’m here in the name of the forty families who live there (...) And he gave us a letter, ‘here, give it to Mr. Amaral, the administrator.’

Englehard’s fee on forest products was eliminated, and by 1944 the Cacaueses had developed a fully elaborated narrative about their historical origins and the conviction that they had the right to live on the lands of Campina. The 1908 map and the interactions with Campos, Mello, and Englehard had spurred the construction of this narrative, providing further legitimacy to their assertions about owning the land by the force of custom. The core tenet of their argumentation is clear: “we are born and raised here ... why should we pay?”

But in addition to custom, Seu Nunhes sought legitimacy by arguing that the Cacaueses had been “watching over” the lands of the Cacau community. This was actually a manipulation of the relation between Englehard and the Cacaueses: they were not “watching over” the land; only old Gregório had done so, given his condition of overseer. By making this argument, the Cacaueses were trying to present their process of territorial appropriation as an action of loyalty, not defiance. By passing as guardians of Campina, Seu Nunhes and the other members of the delegation were trying to maintain as good relations as possible with Englehard. Defending their unrestricted use of the land was the first priority, but in order to preserve access to wage labor it was advisable to do it in a non-conflictive way.

Most surprising is that this story portrays a victory by peasants facing a powerful landowner’s pressure to change the terms of an informal contract. Perhaps Seu Nunhes was

exaggerating the effects of the visit to Englehard, a common process in oral histories.⁸¹ Maybe Englehard decided that the property was not worth the effort of suing and possibly dispossessing the peasants. But beyond Englehard's motivations, from the Cacaueses' standpoint he would never evict them from the area without a compensation, "*because all the local authorities knew that we were citizens of Tauapará.*" Was it naïve to think so? Is Seu Nunhes falling on "wishful remembering" when he argues that for the owners it would have been impossible, or at least very costly, to evict the slave-descendants from Campina?

5.5 CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE AND THE LAW

On October 20, 1894, the city council of Colares sent a letter to the governor requesting that a land possession deed (*título de posse*) presented by a group of peasants not be recorded in the state land registry.⁸² Such a registry was in the making due to the recent transfer of land records from the federal government to the states when the Republic was proclaimed in 1891. According to the council, the lands claimed by Firmo A. de Nazareth e Silva, Francisco Almeida de Nazareth, and others, were not *devolutas* or public, a necessary condition for them to be appropriated by individuals. Instead, they formed part of the municipal patrimony and therefore

⁸¹ Janaina Amado, "O Grande Mentiroso: Tradição, Veracidade e Imaginação em História Oral " *História* 14 (1995): 125-136; Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

⁸² APEP – Fundo do Executivo, Repartição de Obras Públicas, Terras e Viação – Série 8: Ofícios ROPTV-Intendências. Municipal Council of Colares to the State Governor, October 20, 1894; APEP – F.E., ROPTV – S.8. Municipal Council of Colares to the Director of Public Works, Land, and Colonization, October 20, 1894.

could not be sold to private parties.⁸³ The council's rights to the land not only "outdid" the peasants', it also "pre-existed"⁸⁴ them: while the peasants had first registered their *posse* on December 6, 1854, the council was created on November 19, 1854. Moreover, the lands of the council were based on a *sesmaria* or colonial royal land grant, issued prior to 1824.⁸⁵ The Council's existence and inherent territorial patrimony, then, existed previously to the peasants' land claim.⁸⁶

But apparently a city council's claim to municipal land, based on previous possession, was not sufficient to overturn poor peasants' claims to the same land: the council of Colares had to provide detailed arguments to counter the peasants' claim. To begin with, the registration of Silva and Nazareth's *posses* in 1854 took place due to the parish priest's ignorance of the limits of the *município*.⁸⁷ In fact, throughout Brazil numerous problems with incomplete, inexistent, or inaccurate (sometimes wildly inaccurate) land records came to public light when the Land Law of 1850 required that colonial land deeds and claims had to be registered in local parishes. After recording the titles the properties had to be measured and demarcated, but large landowners often avoided doing so, because this would limit their ability to add to their holdings by squatting on new areas.⁸⁸ Other land claimants, small and large, registered their lands describing their size and location by taking natural points of reference, such as trees, rivers, hills, and others. In these

⁸³ Colares' patrimonial land in João de Palma Muniz, ed. *Estado Do Pará: Secretaria De Estado De Obras Publicas Terras E Viação: Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras* (Belem: Imprensa Oficial, 1907), 64. See also ———, *Patrimonios dos Conselhos Municipaes do Estado do Pará* (Paris / Lisbon: Aillaud & Cia., 1904).

⁸⁴ "O título deste Conselho ... sobreexiste e preexiste a todos," APEP – F.E., ROPTV – S.8. Municipal Council of Colares to the Director of Public Works, Land, and Colonization, October 30, 1894.

⁸⁵ On *sesmarias*, see Márcia Maria Menendes Motta, *Nas Fronteiras do Poder: Conflito e Direito à Terra no Brasil do Século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Vício de Leitura / Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 1998), 120-132.

⁸⁶ APEP – F.E., ROPTV – S.8. Letter ... October 20, 1894.

⁸⁷ APEP – F.E., ROPTV – S.8. Letter ... October 30, 1894.

⁸⁸ James Holston, "Restricting Access to Landed Property," in *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 137; Motta, *Nas Fronteiras do Poder*, 174-175, 177.

circumstances, no wonder that the Colares parish priest registered some land *posses* inside of the city's patrimonial land by error.

The Colares council also claimed that Silva, Nazareth, and the other peasants “pled effective cultivation and stable living on these areas, uncontested possession, and a thousand more things that could be said.”⁸⁹ This information is very important: it shows that the peasants knew the text of the law and used it for their own benefit. The 1850 Land Law stipulated a deadline to recognize lands occupied by custom (*posses*), and established that from then on public land could only be acquired by purchase. No *posse* would be legitimated after 1857. Thus, for some historians, “in extinguishing the institution of *posse* as a legitimate means to property and criminalizing its practice thereafter, the law eliminated the customary if not the only way the poor obtained land.”⁹⁰ But if the 1850 Law had effectively outlawed the validation of land property via customary use, why did Silva and Nazareth argue that they maintained “effective cultivation and residence”? Furthermore, the council felt the necessity of refuting their arguments by stating that they “had long abandoned their plots ... which leads to their loss of the land.”⁹¹ If customary use was banned in the 1850 Land Law and its 1854 Regulations, why was it necessary that a public institution argue against it in 1894?

⁸⁹ “Allegam cultivo efetivo e morada habitual n’essas áreas de terras, posse mansa e pacífica, e mil cousas a que se poderia rezar,” APEP – F.E., ROPTV – S.8. Letter ... October 30, 1894.

⁹⁰ Holston, “Restricting Access to Landed Property,” 132. See also Manuel Correia de Andrade, “A Questão da Terra na Primeira República,” in *História Econômica da Primeira República*, ed. Sérgio S. Silva and Tamás Szmrecsányi (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996), 146; Maria Yedda Linhares e Francisco Carlos Teixeira da Silva, *Terra Prometida: Uma História da Questão Agrária no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1999); José de Souza Martins, “Los Campesinos y la Política en Brasil,” in *Historia Política de los Campesinos Latinoamericanos*, ed. Pablo González Casanova (México / Madrid / Bogotá: Siglo Veintiuno, 1985), 20; Ligia Maria Osorio Silva, “A Apropriação Territorial na Primeira República,” in *História Econômica da Primeira República*, ed. Sérgio S. Silva and Tamás Szmrecsányi (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996); Girolamo Domenico Treccani, *Violência e Grilagem: Instrumentos de Aquisição da Propriedade da Terra no Pará* (Belém: UFPA/ITERPA, 2001), 71-73.

⁹¹ APEP – F.E., ROPTV – S.8. Letter ... October 30, 1894.

The answer is that, given the vagueness and inaccuracy of land registries, “effective cultivation and residence,” along with undisputed possession, gave the right to legitimize a *posse*, that is, to inscribe it in the land registry, leading to its conversion into property. This principle originated from two sources. In the first place, the colonial *Ordenações Filipinas* stipulated acts of possession (fundamentally cultivation and residence) as a valid source of property rights; this principle was re-instated in the 1917 Civil Code.⁹² In the second place, when land management was de-centralized in 1891 the state of Pará established a new deadline to register *posses*. In following years the deadline was put off several times, leading both peasants and landlords to conclude that land could be registered anytime.⁹³ Historians who argue that the 1850 Land Law eliminated adverse possession as a source of property rights apparently based their arguments on aggregated data about land concentration and on federal regulations. Instead, a careful examination of richer bodies of sources has led a new generation of scholars to re-evaluate local practices and mentalities concerning land tenure.⁹⁴

Given that different factors could influence the outcome of legal struggles over land, Paraense peasants held the idea that residence and work were valid bases to claim land rights. Firmino A. de Nazareth e Silva and Francisco Antônio de Nazareth were conscious of the legal validity of adverse possession or *usucapião* as a source of property rights when they registered their claim in the state land registry. In fact, this idea seems to have been widespread among Brazilian peasants since the mid-1800s, at least. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, in 1858

⁹² Motta, *Nas Fronteiras do Poder*, 112, 175, 215. About the 1917 Civil Code, see Articles 530 and 550-53, IBGE-Belém, *Código Civil de 1916* – Law 3.071, January 1, 1916.

⁹³ Treccani, *Violência e Grilagem: Instrumentos de Aquisição da Propriedade da Terra no Pará*, 97-98.

⁹⁴ Compare the use of sources in Alberto Passos Guimarães, *Quatro Séculos de Latifúndio* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 1968) and Martins, "Los Campesinos y la Política en Brasil," to Christian Brannstrom, "Producing Possession: Labour, Law and Land on a Brazilian Agricultural Frontier, 1920-1945," *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 859-883; Zephyr Frank, "The Brazilian Far West: Frontier Development in Mato Grosso, 1870-1937" (PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1999); Motta, *Nas Fronteiras do Poder*.

numerous plaintiffs sued the Baron of Piabanha and the Baron of Entrerrios, and ultimately revolted, over an area called Cantagalo in the county of Paraíba do Sul. Similar conflicts took place in Rio Bonito and other Rio de Janeiro counties through the 1870s and 1880s, with results not always in favor of landowners.⁹⁵

Back to Pará. The convent of Our Lady of Carmo had traditionally rented to local rural workers a large parcel of land adjacent to the Campina plantation called Guajará. In 1857, Campina owner Agostinho José Lopes Godinho acquired Guajará, and requested the seizure of its manioc harvests. The local judge ruled in Godinho's favor, ordering the seizure of the harvests and the abandonment of Guajará by the peasants. However, the peasants refused to leave. A second suit was presented, during which Manoel Amâncio Cardoso, one of the *posseiros*, argued that he did not leave because he "had been living on those lands for many years," adding that the prior of the convent of Our Lady of the Carmo had given him permission to cultivate manioc there. He had no document proving this, but still "he was cultivating and would continue to do so[,] given that the owners really gave him permission to cultivate." Cardoso also declared that he did not know that the lands belonged now to Godinho; instead, he argued, "they belonged to Our Lady do Carmo."⁹⁶ Other defendants expressed themselves in the same terms: for them, the contract with the convent had become over the years the right to hold the land.

Again the judge ruled for Godinho, and again the sentence was disobeyed. Twenty years later the Baron of Guajará wrote in *Motins Políticos* that "thanks to the renters [of the Carmo convent] the place [Guajará] is clean and has some fruit trees planted by all those who live

⁹⁵ Motta, *Nas Fronteiras do Poder*, 207-211. See also Nancy Naro, "Customary Rightholders and Legal Claimants to Land in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, 1870-1890," *The Americas* 48, 4 (1992): 512-516.

⁹⁶ 5A-CR, Autos de Embargo, Agostinho José Lopes Godinho v. Favacho e outros, 1857, p.26; 5A-CR, Autos de Embargo Agostinho José Lopes Godinho v. João de Medeiros e outros, 1857.

there.”⁹⁷ The Baron saw the *posseiros* as legitimate owners of Guajará given their longstanding occupation of the area: the peasants had succeeded in claiming Guajará as their home. The hamlet was finally legalized and became one more locality of the county of Colares in the late 1930s, when its inhabitants revolted against a new attempt at eviction.

Sometimes professional lawyers clearly expressed the legal argument that residence and cultivation were a valid source of property. In 1905, for example, a lawyer hired by Silvestre Sarmiento and his wife to defend their right to a plot of land in Tujuí, near Vigia, argued that “neither do we need, nor does the law oblige us, to show the deed of the *posse* occupied by our clients, because even if they did not have legal title to these lands, the right of adverse possession [*usucapião*] assists them,” because by using witnesses they could prove that they had obtained it by donation in 1889.⁹⁸

The argument came up time and again in local courts, or in letters to police officers.⁹⁹ Sometimes peasants argued that those trying to evict them were not valid owners of the land. In 1920 Verônica Florisbella Torres de Souza, a rural proprietor from Juruty, in the region of Baixo Amazonas, sued José Gonçalves Guimarães and his wife Constantina Pinto Gonçalves for

⁹⁷ Domingos Antônio Raiol, *Motins Politicos ou Historia dos Principaes Acontecimentos Politicos da Provincia do Pará desde o Anno de 1821 até 1835*, 5 vols., vol. IV (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Hamburgueza do Lobão, 1884), 349-351.

⁹⁸ 5A-CR, Ação Cível de Manutenção de Posse, Irmãos Pinheiro v. Silvestre Sarmento e sua mulher, José Manoel dos Santos e sua mulher, 1905, p.71.

⁹⁹ Some examples: 5A-CR Ação Cível de Interdicto Possessório, Pinheiro v. Dos Santos, 1872; 5A-CR, Manutenção de Posse, Antônio Manoel de Belém Silva v. Manoel Thomas do Nascimento, 1880; 5A-CR, Autos de Demarcação Judicial, Honório José dos Santos e Dona Ignácia, 1884; 5A-CR Manutenção de Posse De Macedo v. De Souza, 1905; 5A-CR, Ação Cível de Embargo, Vários Autores e Réus, 1908; 5A-CR, Manut. posse Francisca Nery Ferreira v. Antonio Ferreira e outros, 1911; Cartório Ferreira, Óbidos, Ação Cível de Reivindicação de Posse, Verônica Florisberta Torres de Souza v. José Gonçalves Guimarães e sua mulher Constantina Pinto Gonçalves, 1920; APEP – Fundo Segurança Pública – Chefatura de Polícia, Ofícios Diversos – Caixa 339 –Letter from Antônio Motta de Souza Neves to Police Chief of Pará, November 3, 1922; APEP – FSP – CP,OD – C 339 - Letter from Raymundo Moreira de Souza to Police Chief of Pará, November 4, 1922; APEP – FSP – CP,OD – C 339 – Manoel Pereira de Andrade to Police Chief of Pará, November 11, 1922; APEP – FSP – CP,OD – C 373 – José Lino to the Police Chief of Pará, October 6, 1924 , and its reply in APEP – FSP – CP,OD – C 375 – Letter from the Police Chief pof Pará to the Security Deputy of Santarem, October 7, 1924; APEP – FSP – CP,OD – C 374 – Antônio Victor de Almeida to the Police Chief of Pará, October 6, 1924 , and its reply in APEP – FSP – CP,OD – C 375 – Police Chief of Pará to Security Deputy from Acará, October 7, 1924.

residing, cultivating manioc grounds, and extracting cacao from the São Joaquim *posse*, which, she argued, was hers. Verônica also requested compensation for the losses caused by the defendants' invasion.¹⁰⁰ José and his wife replied that they had resided “for many years on the property called S. Joaquim, which is not demarcated and was abandoned by the defendant ages ago, and never possessed by her,” meaning that the plaintiff had never registered her *posse*, “mainly because she has lived for years in a different State [Amazonas].” Instead, “from their initial arrival to the present,” argued the couple, “every year the same land has been cultivated by the defendants, as is widely known.”¹⁰¹ However, their only acts of possession were the “improvements” they had made; they had not resided in São Joaquim, a fact that weakened considerably their petition to retain possession.

Finally, José and Constantina explained that the true plaintiff was “Dario Rodrigues de Souza, owner perhaps of half the vast county of Juruty: pastures not used, cacao fields, and agricultural land mostly uncultivated.” The rich landowner de Souza was Dona Verônica’s “Holy Spirit [whispering] in her ears.”¹⁰² José and Constantina’s lawyer obviously helped them frame their legal arguments, but the couple would not have faced the “owner of half the vast county of Juruty” in court had they not believed that they could win the trial. Their accusations against de Souza also went beyond the legal arguments used in such cases, and may have been an attempt to win the sympathy of the local justice by making reference to a growing concern with land concentration during the 1920s.¹⁰³ However, the fact that the defendants had no stable residence in São Joaquim proved too great an obstacle to their claim, and in the end they had to leave,

¹⁰⁰ CF, De Souza v. Guimarães, 1920.

¹⁰¹ CF, De Souza v. Guimarães, pp. 25, 103.

¹⁰² CF, De Souza v. Guimarães, p. 27.

¹⁰³ “Regimen de Terras do Estado: Exposição Dr. Santa Rosa,” in Pará, *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado em Sessão Solenne de Abertura da 2ª Reunião de sua 12ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1925, pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Dionysio Ausier Bentes* (Belém: Oficinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1925), 103-111.

although no compensation was to be paid to Dona Verônica. She had not cultivated the land for a long time and therefore had no financial losses.¹⁰⁴

José and Constantina's arguments; the Guajará *posseiros*' assertiveness; the Colares *posseiros*' defiance facing the city council; and the claims of all those who challenged powerful or less powerful opponents, were all based on the conviction that protracted possession was an effective source of *dominium*, or property rights. Their chances of achieving recognition of those rights depended on many factors, some of them extra-legal, like the degree of control that powerful landowners exerted over local justices. In addition, resorting to the legal system to resolve disputes over land was only one among a repertoire of possible actions, and probably not the most frequent: there could be unofficial negotiations, violence, resort to powerful patrons, etc. But when it came time to bring a court case, or to defend themselves in court, Paraense peasants were able to frame their claims with valid legal arguments.

5.6 CONCLUSION

We are now better equipped to understand why Seu Nunhes went to visit Rodolfo Englehard in 1944, claiming that the Cacaenses were the legal owners of their land and therefore should not pay any rent. The 42 families formed by his brothers and sisters, his parents, and his grandparents, plus all those who joined them after 1888, stayed in Campina after abolition and appropriated a portion of the estate. The process had started subtly under slavery, gained

¹⁰⁴ CF, De Souza v. Guimarães, p. 112-115.

momentum while legal owners had at best a tenuous presence, between 1912 and 1928, and consolidated during the first half of the 1900s. Residents cultivated their *roças*, harvested food from the forest and the river, celebrated *mutirões*, and got married; they also procreated and held religious parties while celebrating rural life in *carimbó* songs. While some aspects of their collective life originated under slavery, they now could establish their own working calendar, deciding when, where and how they would work within the parameters of necessity and comfort. They moved about frequently within the region and sometimes even outside it. A community life characterized by flexibility and autonomy had emerged out of the slave labor force working in Campina.

Paralleling the material construction of the black community of Cacau, a narrative of landownership developed among the Cacaueses. It was built with different parts and performed in encounters with various owners of the land. A 1908 document listing the families living in Campina after emancipation was an important icon that acquired mythical characteristics. Francisco Mello, owner of the property from 1938 to 1943, managed the farm with a special interest in maintaining stable families of workers, thus providing further legitimacy to the Cacaueses' strategies. Most importantly, they participated in a peasant moral economy that asserted the primacy of possession as a valid source of property rights, even if it was necessary to enter the judicial system to defend this idea. This moral economy continued even after the 1850 Land Law, manifested itself in peasant action during the First Republic, and even survived the Revolution of 1930.

By the mid-twentieth-century new landowners arrived to Campina, and their relationship with the Cacaueses changed. Paulista cattle rancher Antônio Avelar bought Campina in 1964, selling it to the Caiçara agribusiness company in the 1970s. Negotiation with the new

landowners was much more difficult, because they used land more intensively, and modern forms of land management did not lend themselves very well to the erection of patron-client ties. Conflicts ensued, and more Cacauenses had to leave the community. By the 1990s, 33 families or around 150 individuals still lived there. By then, black political organizations promoted the opportunity of obtaining legal recognition as a “maroon-descendant” community, and the Cacauenses made good use of that strategy. However, throughout the years and the changes, Seu Nunhes’ argument that they were “citizens of Tauapará” remained the central tenet of their narrative of origin, resonating in a continent where analogous claims to land as a basis for peasant autonomy were frequently made by slave-descendants in the decades after emancipation.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Dylan C. Penningroth, "The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison," *The American Historical Review* 12, 4 (2007): 1039-1069; Roger Ransom and Richard Sutch, *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Rios, *Memórias do Cativo*; Rebecca Scott and Michael Zeuske, "Demandas de Propiedad y Ciudadanía: Los Exesclavos y sus Descendientes en la Región Central de Cuba," *Illes i Imperis* 5(2001): 109-134.

6.0 WINNERS, LOSERS, AND IN-BETWEENS IN THE BRAZIL NUT TRADE, LOWER AMAZON, 1920-1960

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Trombetas maroons settled below Cachoeira Porteira and other waterfalls. Some formed communities, others chose to settle with their families in *sítios*, and still others migrated to nearby or distant cities like Óbidos, Santarém, or even Belém. They registered *posses* and shared the area of the lakes with incoming settlers from Oriximiná, Óbidos, and nearby counties. They collected Brazil nuts and sold them either to *regatões* or to middle-men in Oriximiná; in either case, during the early decades of the twentieth century they had a considerable degree of autonomy to trade. However, a series of commercial enterprises gradually expanded in the area, trying to control the Brazil nut trade by purchasing land where the *mocambeiros*, as they were still known after the end of slavery, resided or used for their subsistence (Figure 6.1). The turning point of this expansion took place between 1920 and 1930, when the merchants bought and demarcated most land containing Brazil nuts, thus consolidating their domination over the local population. The descendants of maroons in the Lower Amazon no longer had access to Brazil nuts, and were frequently reduced to wage workers bonded to specific merchants by debt.

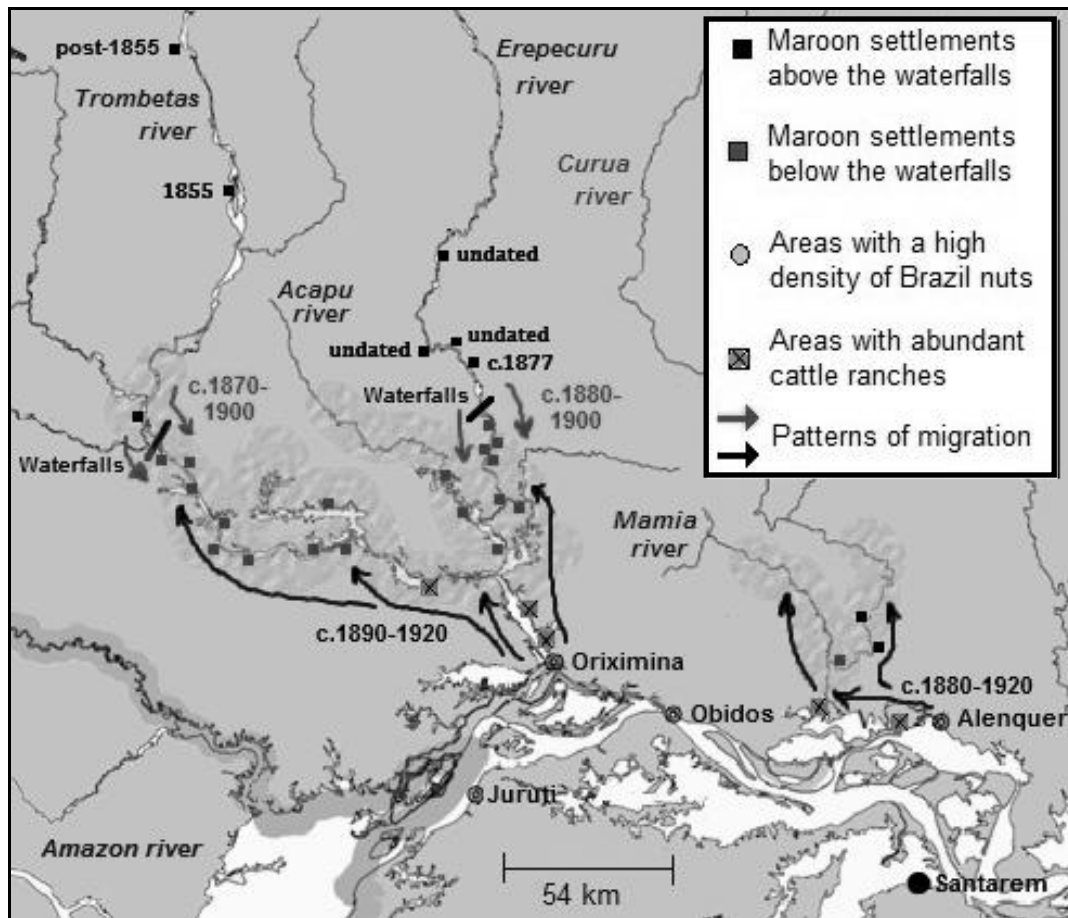


Figure 6.1. Arrival of Maroon-Descendants and Brazil Nut Merchants to the Trombetas, Erepecuru, and Curuá Lakes Area, Lower Amazon, c.1870-1920¹

A closer look at the process, however, yields some revelations. Present-day narratives about the period enunciated both by scholars and by the locals emphasize the theme of ruthless exploitation: they speak of “a new version of slavery,” of being “under captivity.”² Yet

¹ Data on maroon communities from Figure 3.1; chronology of merchant penetration into the rivers is discussed in the first section of this chapter.

² Interview with José Santa Rita dos Santos (born 1922) by Idaliana Marinho de Azevedo in 1988, in Idaliana Marinho de Azevedo, *Puxirum: Memória dos Negros do Oeste Paraense* (Belém: Instituto de Artes do Pará, 2002), 44; Interview with Raimundo Vieira dos Santos (born 1941) by M. Dutra, in De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 75; José Luis Ruíz-Peinado, *Cimarronaje en Brasil: Mocambos del Trombetas* (Valencia, Spain: El Cep i la Nansa, 2003), 160.

mocambeiros appear in the historical record as managers of the merchants' properties, while other maroon-descendants sold land to commercial houses, mortgaged it, or even testified in court in favor of the merchants. Some *mocambeiros* were even baptized by prominent traders! Apparently, relations between black peasants and Brazil nut traders took contours more complex than expected, defying uni-directional narratives of class domination, or at least complicating them. How do we make sense of this constellation of complex relationships?

I will argue that labor relations during the period of consolidation of Brazil nut exports (1910-1939) developed at two levels. While the first one was characterized by domination of the *mocambeiros* and its consequent rejection, at another level some maroon-descendants accommodated and even collaborated with the commercial houses. The existence of these two levels explains the variety of strategies of social advancement employed by the *mocambeiros* during the first half of the twentieth century. These included sporadic alliances with merchants; patron-client relations, so important to understanding power relations in the Brazilian countryside; pilfering; migration; daily resistance to labor subjection; and appeals to state authorities to combat the abuses of the merchants. In what follows, I will show how the struggle over the land and the resources of the Trombetas river (namely Brazil nuts) unfolded in the 1910s and 1920s and lasted until the mid-twentieth century, and how specific individuals often broke the limits that teleological observations about the behavior of ex-maroons and merchants have placed on their historical experiences. How, in sum, the contest to control different spaces in the Trombetas river took place, eventually producing winners, losers, and in-betweens.

6.1 GOING NUTS

On April 1856 a councilman from Óbidos explained in a report on local agriculture that agricultural land in the county was not generally bought and sold. “The way the locals possess land consists of each one clearing it and planting manioc where he wants.”³ Land was so abundant that only tracts located near cities or rivers, or containing very fertile dark soil (*terra preta*), were actively bought and sold. However, this situation would change during the second half of the nineteenth century, as demographic and economic growth in Amazonia spurred economic activity along the water courses of the region.

The Trombetas river attracted the attention of Óbidos’s merchants, ranchers, and *posseiros* due to its considerable production of turtle eggs, the availability of land, the suitability of some of its lakes for livestock farming, and the high number of Brazil nut trees along its shores. The *mocambeiros*’ trade in all these goods alerted local inhabitants to the river’s economic prospects. By 1850 and probably before, Óbidos’s city council was already sending police to the Trombetas beaches to prevent excessive collection of turtle eggs; the following year a local merchant related how numerous individuals were collecting turtle eggs in the lakes area.⁴ The collection of turtle eggs was eventually prohibited by the city council in 1889.⁵

Meanwhile, livestock ranching expanded steadily during the second half of the nineteenth century, and ranchers became part of the local elite. Although this activity was traditionally

³ Arquivo do Museu de Óbidos (henceforth AMO), Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal 1840-1858, April 3, 1856.

⁴ AMO, Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal, 1840-1858, January 8, 1850, January 15, 1850, July 5, 1850, and January 11, 1851.

⁵ AMO, Atas da Câmara Municipal, 1881-1890, July 13, 1889.

located along lakes closer to the main course of the Amazon, like the Sapucuá, Jacupá, or Iripixy, considerable cattle *fazendas* could also be found at lakes Salgado, Acapuzinho, or Aracuaã, well into the mid-Trombetas and the Erepecuru (Figure 6.1).⁶ Óbidos lawyer and politician José Antonio Picanço Diniz, for example, had a nearly 3,000-hectare ranch in Lake Salgado that included a tiled house with veranda, three Brazil nut depots, a small dock to ship the nuts, and numerous huts on plots worked by tenant cowboys (*agregados*), who sometimes lived there with their families.⁷ At the time of his death in 1934, Diniz had accumulated more than 300 cattle and 32 horses, 15 properties containing Brazil nuts, and several docks, which accounted for the considerable sum of 235 *contos*.⁸ Thanks precisely to the presence of men like Diniz on the city council, it funded numerous expeditions to reach the *campos gerais* or large grasslands that existed along the upper reaches of the Trombetas and the Erepecuru. These areas were deemed perfect for cattle-ranching. No fewer than six expeditions, often using *mocambeiros* as guides and specialists in traversing the waterfalls, were sent between the 1860s and the 1920s to reach the *campos gerais*.⁹

But while ranching was an attractive goal, what eventually led the merchants and landowners of Óbidos to enter the Trombetas was Brazil nuts. A forest product traditionally

⁶ Domingos Soares Ferreira Penna, *A Região Occidental da Provincia do Pará. Resenhas Estatísticas das Comarcas de Obidos e Santarem Apresentadas a S. Exc. o Sr. Conselheiro José Bento da Cunha Figueiredo Presidente da Provincia* (Belém: Typographia do Diario de Belem, 1869), 21. AMO, Livro de Sessões do Conselho Municipal. 1840-1858, pages 77-87; ITERPA, Petição de compra de José Antônio Picanço Diniz e Manoel Marques Diniz, 1904; Properties belonging to Augusto Fonseca Vidal, 1925 (provisional deed from 1923), Francisco de Andrade Figueira, 1929 (1926); Luiz Manfredi, 1925 (1922); Manoel Bentes Soares, 1925 (1920); Margarida Rosa da Conceição, 1927 (1910); Perpetua Monteiro Figueira, 1926 (1923), all from ITERPA, *Índice de Títulos Definitivos*.

⁷ Detailed description of the property from CF – Inventário Post-Mortem de José Antônio Picanço Diniz 1934; information about the workers from CF – Autos de Petição de Queixa, Doutor José Antonio Picanço Diniz, 1919 and from CF – Autos de Acção Ordinária de Reconhecimento de Paternidade Cumulada com Petição de Alimentos – Dulce Furtado dos Reis v. José Antonio Picanço Diniz [son], 1934.

⁸ CF –José Antônio Picanço Diniz PMI, 1934. See also Gastão Cruels, *A Amazônia que Eu Vi: Óbidos - Tumucumaque* (Rio de Janeiro: ?, 1930), 24-26.

⁹ Thomaz Antonio D'Aquino in 1861, Father Nicolino José de Souza between in 1879-1881, engineer Gonçalves Tocantins in 1893, Lieutenant Lourenço Valente do Couto in 1894, Otille Coudreau in 1900, and Avelino de Oliveira and José Antônio Picanço Diniz in 1925. Cruels, *A Amazônia que Eu Vi*, 81.

marketed and consumed in the Lower Amazon, the price and exports of Brazil nuts experienced a steady increase during the late nineteenth century (Appendix C). In 1935 a book publicized how “the shelling of Brazil nuts, and their export, principally to the United States of America, was initiated a few years ago, and is now well established.” That year more than 660 tons were sent to the U.S. through Belém.¹⁰

Back to the 1890s, a number of *posseiros* from Óbidos and Oriximiná had established themselves in the lower Trombetas, as *posse* records for the 1890s and the 1900s show.¹¹ Gradually, however, a group of Brazil nut traders, including both individuals newly arrived to the business and members of traditional Óbidos families, started to differentiate themselves from poorer *posseiros*. Data from 159 official land deeds (*títulos definitivos*) between 1877 and 1940 will help us establish more accurately the chronology of their arrival to the Trombetas. Applying for a *título definitivo* meant that the applicant would buy the land from the Land Bureau or another private owner, and that the estate would be surveyed and demarcated. The applicant became the legitimate owner with full *dominium*. Therefore, those who obtained official land deeds usually had enough cash to cover the expenses of the process, which prevented poor peasants from pursuing this strategy. Of these 159 deeds, 39 or 24.5% were issued before 1900, including deeds dating from the colonial era. Another 18.2%, or 29 properties were purchased in the two following decades, between 1900 and 1919. But 43.4% of all titles (69 out of 159) were purchased between 1920 and 1930, when the occupation of the Trombetas by the commercial houses reached its peak, and the price of nuts remained high (Appendix C).¹²

¹⁰ Carlos Frazão, *Castanha do Brasil (Brazil Nuts): Quatro Castanhas Equivalem a Dois Ovos de Gallinha* (Belém: Unknown publisher, 1935), 6.

¹¹ Observation based on 182 *posses* from Óbidos and Oriximiná, ITERPA, *Índice de Títulos de Posse*.

¹² After 1930 19 deeds or 12,0% of the total were granted. 159 Definitive official land deeds granted between 1877-1940, county of Óbidos (incl. Oriximiná), from ITERPA, *Índice de Títulos Definitivos*. It is not possible to

Led by Brazil nut exports, the economy of the Lower Amazon followed a different trajectory to that of rubber. Two factors explain this divergence. First, not until 1910 did the State of Pará authorize the sale of public land containing Brazil nut trees by passing Law 1,108 in 1909, and Decree 1,686 in 1910. This legislation was passed thanks to the preeminence of rubber merchants in the state legislature, which favored the removal of obstacles to extractive activities.¹³ Previously, Brazil nut land had been considered a public good or *bem de serventia pública*, used by poor peasants to enrich their diet much in the way that parcels of forest were kept for communal use in medieval and early modern Europe. That these laws were promulgated in 1910 does not mean, however, that *castanhais* were not privatized before that year – a number of them were sold in private transactions, for example, or registered as being used for different activities.

Second, in 1913 Amazonian rubber exports collapsed due to the arrival in international markets of rubber grown on British-owned plantations in Malaya. This crash liberated contingents of workers that could now be used as cheap labor in Brazil nut collecting, as *prepostos* (workers hired to file land claims in exchange for usufruct rights) or *capangas* (hired thugs). In a 1921 letter from the city council of Alenquer to the state government, the councilmen explained that nut workers came “from other Paraense counties ... in the most extreme poverty” and “in search of a remedy for their atrocious suffering,” a remedy to be found in “the abundance” of Brazil nuts.¹⁴ As a result of that abundance, the economy of the Lower Amazon continued to expand during the early 1900s and did not collapse after 1913 with the rubber crash.

determine how many definitive titles were granted, because some of them were classified as different documents, but this collection represents a large majority of them.

¹³ João de Palma Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer: Relatório de Verificação Local, Apresentado ao Sr. Dr. Antonino de Souza Castro, Governador do Estado pelo Engenheiro Civil João de Palma Muniz, Chefe da 3ª Secção da Directoria de Obras Publicas* (Belem: ?, 1921), 20.

¹⁴ ITERPA, Martinica property, Antônio Vallinoto, 1920. Municipal Council of Alenquer to the State Government, March 12, 1921.

While Belém and other rubber cities experienced a terrible crisis after that year, immigrants from Portugal and Italy continued to arrive in Lower Amazon towns like Óbidos, Oriximiná, Faro, Santarém, or Juruty during the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁵

The nuts themselves are the edible seeds of *Bertolletia excelsa*, a giant tree of the Amazon forest that grows in unflooded land and reaches a height of nearly 40 meters and an average diameter of 1.3 meters.¹⁶ “The fruit consists of a round pod with a hard shell one-quarter of an inch thick, and about four to five inches in diameter. It contains from sixteen to twenty seeds,” that is, the nuts.¹⁷ In the Lower Amazon every year by December, rain water gradually fills the pods until they get heavy enough to fall to the ground, where the workers gather them at a daily rate of approximately 700 to 800 pods, or about ten hectoliters of nuts.¹⁸ The *Bertolletias* have a “highly clumped spatial distribution”: they are found almost exclusively in groves of 75 to 150 or more trees, with a density of 1.5 to 5.6 trees per hectare.¹⁹ This spatial distribution explains the rush to demarcate the Trombetas lands in the 1920s: the goal was to control the clumps of *Bertolletias*, and there would be no leftovers for those who were late.

¹⁵ Ermenegildo Aliprandi and Virginio Martini, *Gli Italiani del Nord del Brasile: Rassegna delle Vite e delle Opere della Stirpe Italica negli Stati del Nord Brasiliano* (Belem: Typ. da Livraria Gillet, 1932). See for example APEP, Fundo Secretaria de Segurança Pública, Caixa 528, Chefatura de Polícia, Petições, Janeiro-Março de 1933, João Miléo Primo to State Police Chief, March 3, 1933; and Joaquim Tavares de Souza's Personal Diary, 1894-1898. Interview with Cleinilze Souza Silva (Joaquim Tavares de Souza's granddaughter, born 1954), Santarém, April 27, 2009.

¹⁶ Rafael de Paiva Salomão, "Densidade, Estrutura e Distribuição Espacial de Castanheira-do-Brasil (*Bertolletia excelsa* H. & B.) em Dois Platôs de Floresta Ombrófila Densa na Amazônia Setentrional Brasileira," *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Naturais* 4, 1 (2009): 23.

¹⁷ Frazão, *Castanha do Brasil*, 3.

¹⁸ Paul Le Cointe, *L'Amazonie Bresilienne: Le Pays-Ses Habitants, des Ressources, Notes et Statistiques Jusqu'en 1920*, vol. 2 (Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1934), 455-56.

¹⁹ Quotation from Carlos A. Peres and Claudia Baider, "Seed Dispersal, Spatial Distribution and Population Structure of Brazilnut Trees (*Bertolletia excelsa*) in Southeastern Amazonia," *Journal of Tropical Ecology* 13, 4 (1997): 604. See also Salomão, "Densidade, Estrutura e Distribuição," 16-17. The density of *castanheiras* in Trombetas groves is high when compared to other Amazonian areas: Peres and Baider, "Seed Dispersal," 604.

6.2 CONTROLLING LAND

The first step, then, was controlling the clusters of Brazil nut trees. The strategies employed by Brazil nut merchant Raimundo da Costa Lima, who set out to do so between approximately 1899 and the 1920s, will be analyzed in detail to shed light on the process of land privatization. Costa Lima purchased the *castanhal* São Manoel at the Erepecu lake on July 3, 1899, probably from a former *posseiro*.²⁰ He built there a commercial store, or *barracão de comércio*, where gatherers could sell their nuts at the price he established. Costa Lima had another store in the Erepecuru during the harvest season, between January and May,²¹ and between 1900 and at least 1913 he also worked as a land surveyor, supplementing his income from the Brazil nut trade.²² Or perhaps he kept working as a surveyor in order to have first-hand information about local *castanhais*. In any case, that many future *castanha* “barons” entered the Brazil nut trade by building a *barracão* and purchasing a few properties is indicative of the merchants’ lack of control over the extraction of the nuts at the beginning of the trade.²³ Until the mid-1910s large *castanhais* were still at the free disposal of *mocambeiros*, and others were waiting to be discovered. The Sucuriçu, Cuicé or Guicé, and Leonardo groves had not been privatized yet, nor

²⁰ Cartório Ferreira from Óbidos (henceforth CF), Autos de Manutenção de Posse, Raymundo da Costa Lima v. João Faria Godinho, 1928, pp. 2, 17.

²¹ AMO, Lançamento do Imposto de Industria e Profissão, 1907, commercial houses 171, 186, and 204.

²² ITERPA, Autos de Medição Massaranduba, 1923, José Antonio Picanço Diniz (Da Costa Lima was the land surveyor in 1910); Posse Perseverança, José Antonio Picanço Diniz, 1908; Property Vianna Grande, José Gabriel Guerreiro, 1913.

²³ For example Raphael Regis (house number 168), associate of Oriximiná merchant Vicente Sarubbi (CF, Raphael Regis Post-Mortem Inventory, 1920, p.3); the own Vicente Sarubbi (houses 183, 194, and 214); or Bras Calderaro (208), all at AMO, Lançamento do Imposto de Industria e Profissão, 1907.

the Jacaré, which eventually formed the core of Costa Lima's Brazil nut empire.²⁴ At this point Óbidos produced between 10,000 and 20,000 hectoliters of nuts, still below the 30,000 hectoliters from Alenquer.²⁵ But this phase of mild, partial domination over the productive process was soon to end.²⁶

In order to expand his landholdings, Costa Lima purchased *posses* registered by *mocambeiros*. In 1906 he bought the Sucuriju *posse* from Jesuino Helisberto dos Santos, and in 1907, Antonio Domingos de Araujo's Jacaré property (Araujo was not a maroon-descendant but a Portuguese merchant).²⁷ Although in the written record these transactions look legal and fair, in the oral record they have been described as fraudulent: maroon-descendants argue that these *posses* changed hands as repayment for a debt, or were traded at a much cheaper price than they should have been, as we will shortly see. The Sucuriju property, for example, was purchased "for 200 réis," the value of a debt with Costa Lima.²⁸

In addition to acquiring estates, Costa Lima hired the maroon-descendant *mateiro* or explorer Augusto Cordeiro to help him discover new Brazil nut fields. A grandson of runaway

²⁴ ITERPA, *Compra de Terras Devolutas "Jacaré"*, 308/21, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1921; *Autos de medição "Sucurijú"*, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1919; *Autos de Medição Cuicé*, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1923; *Autos de Medição "Leonardo"*, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1924.

²⁵ Le Cointe, *L'Amazonie Bresilienne*, 463.

²⁶ My argument about the different degrees of class domination in processes of land privatization and control over labor in Amazonia is inspired by João Pacheco de Oliveira Filho, "O Caboclo e o Brabo: Notas Sobre Duas Modalidades de Força-de-Trabalho na Expansão da Fronteira Amazônica no Século XIX," *Civilização Brasileira* (1979); Barbara Weinstein, "Persistence of Caboclo Culture in the Amazon: The Impact of the Rubber Trade, 1850-1920," in *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Eugene P. Parker (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985), 103-105.

²⁷ Jesuino's *posse* was 19,366 from 1898, at João de Palma Muniz, ed., *Estado do Pará: Secretaria de Estado de Obras Publicas Terras e Viação: Índice Geral dos Registros de Terras* (Belem: Imprensa Official, 1907), 214. and ITERPA, "Sucurijú", RCL, 1919; and "Jacaré", RCL, 1921. Interview with Ruy Brasil, Tapagem community, June 7, 2009 (born 1945). The grandson of a radical Portuguese pharmacist who helped the *mocambeiros* in the early 1900s, Brasil married a maroon-descendant woman and lives at the community of Tapagem. He has conducted informal research on the history of the maroon descendants for years.

²⁸ Interview with Ruy Brasil (born 1945), Tapagem community (conducted in Oriximiná), June 7, 2009; interview with Anarcindo da Silva Cordeiro (born 1951), Tapagem community (conducted in Oriximiná), June 7, 2009; collective interview with Nicanor (born 1940), Aldenor Pereira de Jesus (born 1953), Teresa Fernandes Regis (born 1938), and Raymundo Dias Barbosa (born 1947), all from Erepecu lake, June 6, 2009.

slave Caetano Antonio do Carmo, Cordeiro was born in 1896 near Lake Abui.²⁹ Present day maroon-descendant Manoel Francisco Cordeiro Xavier, Seu Duí, explains that by the time of his father

there was this person in my mother's family called [Augusto] Cordeiro, who was a great explorer for Costa Lima. So Costa Lima made the preparations to go into the forest looking for Brazil nut fields. (...) they walked for days, found a *ponta de castanhal* and gave it to him [Costa Lima]. Since he was an engineer [i.e. a land surveyor], Costa Lima went there to demarcate the *castanhal*. And from then on it belonged to him.³⁰

Costa Lima "paid a reward" for the *mateiro*'s service, although he "became the owner."³¹ Several Trombetas maroon-descendants recounted Augusto Cordeiro's role as an explorer and discoverer of *castanhais*.³² Even Luis Bacellar Guerreiro, the son of prominent Brazil nut merchant José Gabriel Guerreiro Júnior, identified Cordeiro as "Costa Lima's explorer."³³ Other merchants used the knowledge of *mateiros* like Raymundo Serrão at Lake Erepecu,³⁴ Manoel do Nascimento in the area of Boa Vista,³⁵ and João Petronillo Pereira, the discoverer of the Cruzeiro, São Sebastião, Bella Brisa, Boa Esperança, and Tres de Abril *castanhais* in the Craval river for merchant Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho, in the late 1910s and early 1920s.³⁶

As can be inferred from Seu Duí's words, the relations between Costa Lima and Augusto Cordeiro were unequal: while the merchant became owner of the discovered nut fields, the

²⁹ ITERPA, Autos de Medição "Leonardo," Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1924; De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 77.

³⁰ Interview with Manoel Francisco Cordeiro Xavier (born 1934), June 5, 2009.

³¹ Interview with Seu Duí (born 1934), June 5, 2009.

³² Interview with José Melo (born 1942), Boa Vista community, May 27, 2009; interview with Francisco Edilberto Figueiredo de Oliveira (born 1958), Poço Fundo community (conducted in Oriximiná), May 29, 2009; interview with João Xavier (Arary), Tapagem community, June 4, 2009 (unknown DOB); interview with Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro and Deometilo Cordeiro (born 1925 and 1945, Tapagem community), June 5, 2009; interview with Seu Duí (born 1934), June 5, 2009; interview with Ruy Brasil, (born 1945), June 7, 2009.

³³ Interview with Luis Bacellar Guerreiro (born 1929), Oriximiná, January 9.

³⁴ Collective interview with Nicanor (born 1940), Aldenor Pereira de Jesus (born 1953), Teresa Fernandes Regis (born 1938), and Raymundo Dias Barbosa (born 1947), June 6, 2009.

³⁵ Interview with Zé Melo (born 1942), May 27, 2009.

³⁶ CF, Manutenção de Posse, Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926, pp. 61-2.

explorer obtained only a cash reward. Other maroon-descendants shared this opinion. According to Deometilo Cordeiro, Augusto Cordeiro's grandson, the merchant "asked the *mateiro* to look for the land [containing nuts], keeping all the land for himself. The explorer arrived and said 'look, I found a nice Brazil nut field with these trees, it could yield these many crates.'" And the merchant responded "Where is it? Let's go there to demarcate the terrain.' And they went there to demarcate the land for the merchant. So the explorer kept losing the lands, and when he looked for some, none was available."³⁷ A similar version was offered by Ruy Brasil when discussing Costa Lima's strategies: "when a black discovered a Brazil nut field, old [Augusto] Cordeiro had to follow him to see the location. When Cordeiro discovered it, he came back and told his *compadre* Costa Lima." Since he was a land surveyor, the land was rapidly demarcated, and the explorer or the original discoverer of the land was told "hey, if you sell these nuts [to somebody else], you will go to jail, because this *castanhal* is mine."³⁸

But how did Costa Lima obtain property deeds as easily as it appears from the oral record? In theory, the legal process to obtain a *título definitivo* allowed those affected by the demarcation to protest, which could lead to a review or even to the annulment of the process. Application for an official land deed started with a letter to the state Land Bureau (Repartição de Obras Públicas, Terras e Viação) stating that the applicant had a provisional land deed, sometimes simply a *posse* deed, and wished to obtain the official one. The request included the certification of the local office of the State Treasury (Mesa de Rendas do Estado) that nobody else was cultivating or residing on the requested plot. The Land Bureau then announced the date when a land surveyor would demarcate the land, in two ways: by posting a copy on the door of the local office of the State Treasury for 30 days, and by publishing it in the government

³⁷ Interview with Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro and Deometilo Cordeiro (born 1925 and 1945), June 5, 2009.

³⁸ Interview with Ruy Brasil (born 1945), July 7, 2009.

newspaper (*Diário Oficial do Estado*). Extra copies of the announcement were sent to owners of adjoining properties. If there were no objections during those 30 days, then a land surveyor, a notary, a representative of the Treasury, and the applicant, met in the designated day and place to start the measurement and demarcation. They read the application aloud and, if no protests were made, the land survey and demarcation was carried out, and markers placed on its boundaries. Once finished, the land surveyor sent the entire file to the Land Bureau, where an official reviewed the process and charged the applicant the fees for the publication of the announcement, the survey, and the price of the land.³⁹

Costa Lima and other merchants knew the weak parts of this process very well, and sought to manipulate them to their own advantage. They could, for example, declare in their application that the area was smaller than it actually was. However, surveyors and state officials apparently took their work seriously, and merchants were often required to pay for undeclared land and fined for their apparent deception. For example, in 1917 Costa Lima applied for a title to land near the Jacaré lake, and after it was granted, he had to pay 165 milréis for additional undeclared acreage. In 1924 he had to pay more than four *contos* for the same reason when demarcating his Cuicé grove.⁴⁰ At the survey of the Paraíso grove in 1921, he had argued that the imprecision was due to the fact that “the applicant did not know the extension of the property with precision, to the extent that he used the expression ‘more or less’ when he filled out the application.”⁴¹ Other merchants had to pay similar fines.⁴²

³⁹ This summary of the process is based on the approximately 57 land demarcation processes that I have surveyed in detail, all from ITERPA.

⁴⁰ ITERPA, 5/310 Autos de Medição, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1917; Autos de Medição Cuicé, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1923.

⁴¹ ITERPA, Autos de Medição Paraíso, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1921.

⁴² ITERPA, Autos de Medição Massaranduba, José Antônio Picanço Diniz; Três Ilhas, José Gabriel Guerreiro Júnior, 1925; see also properties Palhal and Mocambinho, both from 1928, belonging to Manoel Costa & Cia; Norte

Knowing that treasury officials were unlikely to visit a *castanhal* located some days upriver to check that the information of the application was accurate, Brazil nut merchants also denied the presence of *mocambeiros* on their properties or stated that their huts belonged to seasonal workers. By doing so, the merchants sought to avoid potential lawsuits brought by long-time residents, which could cause serious trouble. When in 1925 Manoel Costa acquired the Uxizal property, located on the Acapu river, he claimed that no workers lived there: his *castanheiros* resided instead in São Benedicto. However, when he purchased the São Benedicto property, he declared that no workers resided there either.⁴³ In 1917, applying for a property called Leonardinho, Costa Lima stated that the houses of some members of the Cordeiro family and other maroon-descendants were simply “huts” (*abarracamentos*) used by nut workers.⁴⁴ In 1924 Abel Chermont requested a plot that included a *castanhal* that had been used for decades by *mocambeiro* Sebastião Cordeiro da Silva, and followed a similar strategy.⁴⁵

Further strategies to commit irregularities in the process of measurement came to public light when there was a dispute between different merchants. In 1923, for example, Costa Lima requested that the director of the Land Bureau rectify the demarcation of the Extrema *castanhal*, requested by José Gabriel Guerreiro, claiming that “between my properties and those requested by him ... there is a distance of thirty or forty kilometers, so the applicant José Gabriel Guerreiro cannot argue that they are adjacent to each other,” as Guerreiro had done in his application.⁴⁶ The following year lawyer Abel Chermont opposed Costa Lima’s demarcation of the Leonardinho

do Rio Craval, 1914, Pedro Martins Dourado; Norte do Cuminá-miry, 1914, Antônio Guerreiro de Barros; Rio Erepecurú, 1927, Antonio Pinto da Silva, all from ITERPA, *Índice de Títulos Definitivos*.

⁴³ ITERPA, Autos de Medição Uxizal, 1925; Statement of the Buyers, January 25, 1923, in ITERPA, São Benedicto, Manoel Costa & Companhia, 1924.

⁴⁴ ITERPA, Processo 5/310 Autos de Medição, Raimundo da Costa Lima.

⁴⁵ “Termo do início dos trabalhos de medição e discriminação do lote Fernando,” in ITERPA, Autos de medição “Leonardo,” Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1924.

⁴⁶ Raimundo da Costa Lima to the Director of the SLB, ITERPA, Extrema, José Gabriel Guerreiro, 1923.

property. After presenting the property's true dimensions, Chermont stated that his measurements were taken "with precision, and without the 'more or less' that is so much to the taste of the applicant Raymundo da Costa Lima," implying that the latter was known for his fraudulent tactics.⁴⁷ That same year Obidense lawyer Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho also sent a letter to the Land Bureau, claiming that the demarcation of the Tres Barracas property had been fraudulent and accusing Costa Lima of multiple irregularities. The surveyor Archimino Pereira Lima "is a spiritist, and has accomplished more than the spirits," by having demarcated a property without visiting it. The application announcement "has not been posted for 30 days, but for 5." And the property had a perimeter of 54.8 km, but was demarcated in 2 hours.⁴⁸ Similar attempts to register large properties were detected by the Land Bureau in Alenquer, where in 1910 two deed applications requested plots allegedly 3 km long, while in reality they measured 22 and 12.5 km, respectively.⁴⁹

The merchants tried to exploit the administrative difficulties of selling large tracts of public land in remote and barely explored areas. When Land Bureau officials or rival *castanhistas* detected irregularities, they took legal action, but the merchants knew how difficult it was to strictly enforce laws regulating the sale of public lands. As shown by Costa Lima's example, the boundaries of a property and the process of demarcation could both be manipulated, an operation whose success usually depended on the honesty of the designated surveyor. More importantly, Costa Lima and other merchants bought land from the *mocambeiros*, used them to discover new Brazil nut groves, and tried to erase them from the record if their presence posed an

⁴⁷ Emphasis from the original. Abel Chermont to Director of SLB, September 29, 1924, in ITERPA, Autos de Medição Leonardo, 1924.

⁴⁸ Abelardo Conduru, Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho's lawyer, to the Director of the SLB, February 2, 1924, at ITERPA, Autos de Medição "Tres Barracas" ou "São Braz", Theodora Gonçalves de Lima, 1923.

⁴⁹ Applications by Alfredo de Sousa Corrêa and Joaquim Caetano Vianna Gentil, 1910, quoted in Palma Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 21.

obstacle to the expansion of their landholdings. As a result of these strategies, the Trombetas river was falling under the control of the merchants.

6.3 CONTROLLING LABOR

However, controlling land was not enough to increase the production of Brazil nuts – a reliable source of labor was necessary too. Here Brazil nut merchants ran into the same problem as that confronted by the rubber barons: how to stabilize the supply of labor in a region where the population was famous for its flexible, highly autonomous economic strategies and its aversion to long-term wage labor. While the merchants could transport temporary workers to the Brazil nut fields, this solution was initially very expensive, because the *castanhais* were several hours and even days away from Óbidos and Oriximiná. At least initially, the bulk of the labor force would have to be drawn from the *mocambeiros* of the Trombetas river, who had their communities in the area and knew it better than anybody else. But how could the *mocambeiros* be transformed into docile workers?

The privatization of the Brazil nut groves struck directly at the *mocambeiros*' principal source of cash income. Other extractive products were available, but none had the value and was as abundant as the nuts. Thus, land privatization forced them to enlist as Brazil nut extractors. At the beginning of the collection season, by early January, most men, some women, and even

entire *mocambeiro* families went to the *castanhais* to work.⁵⁰ This included groups of 60 to 100 individuals at Lake Erepecu, where some of the largest *castanhais* were located.⁵¹ “When the time came, all of them [the *mocambeiros*] left to work as nut collectors.”⁵² Usually they went to the nearest *castanhal*. Those living in the Tapagem, Boa Vista, and Jacaré communities, for instance, would go to the Erepecu lake, to *castanhais* like Fartura and Paraíso, belonging to Costa Lima, while those living at Mãe Cué and nearby *sítios* would go to Cuicé.⁵³ However, as the trade expanded in the 1920s and 1930s, new *castanhais* were demarcated further North, in the Acapu or the Upper Erepecuru, and it became necessary to bring workers from beyond the Trombetas. As Zé Melo from Boa Vista explained, “the locals were not enough for the harvest (...) So in those *castanhais* upriver ... they brought people from Oriximiná, from the Apocu ... from Terra Santa, from Faro.”⁵⁴ Luis Guerreiro’s grandfather José Gabriel Guerreiro brought workers from his ranches downriver. During the dry season they worked as cowboys and agricultural workers, but between January and May they were employed as extractors in the *castanhais* of the Acapu river.⁵⁵ In 1926 Elyzio Pessoa de Carvalho requested the seizure of Costa Lima’s nuts extracted from the Último Ponto *castanhal*, on the Upper Craval. During the

⁵⁰ Interview with Maria de Souza (born 1935), Javary community (conducted in Oriximiná), May 23, 2009; interview with Valério and Zuleide Melo (born 1945 and 1955) May 26, 2009; interview with Dona Biquinha (born 1934), Pancada community, May 29, 2009.

⁵¹ For example Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro (born 1925), and her brother Seu Duí (born 1934), started to work at ages 13 and 15, respectively. On Lake Erepecu, collective interview with Nicanor (born 1940), Aldenor Pereira de Jesus (born 1953), Teresa Fernandes Regis (born 1938), and Raymundo Dias Barbosa (born 1947), June 6, 2009.

⁵² Interview with Zé Melo, (born 1942), May 27, 2009.

⁵³ Interview with Zé do Carmo, (born 1944), May 27, 2009; interview with Zé Melo (born 1942), May 27, 2009.

⁵⁴ Interview with Zé Melo (born 1942), May 27, 2009. Also Interview with Seu Duí (born 1934), June 6, 2009.

⁵⁵ Interview with Luis Bacellar Guerreiro (born 1929), June 9, 2009. Also ITERPA, Mungubal Property, José Gabriel Guerreiro, 1923; Tucunaré Property, José Gabriel Guerreiro, undated.

trial, only one of the six workers who testified was a *mocambeiro* – the other five were extractors brought from Oriximiná.⁵⁶

Family or individual *mocambeiros* went to the *castanhal* belonging to a known *patrão* and requested a *colocação* or work assignment. They established themselves in a hut provided by the *patrão*, “gathered [the nuts], peeled them, and brought them to the *paiol*,” a shed where the nuts were housed.⁵⁷ On Saturday they brought the weekly production to the owner’s shed, where it was weighed and recorded in the *livros de aviamento* or account books. The worker also purchased the goods he needed, mostly manioc flour but also varied goods like soap, cloth, guns, gunpowder, salt, coffee, sugar, poultry, fishing equipment, steel tools, hammocks, canoes, etc. Once a month or at the end of the season, the merchant presented the final calculation of the *saldo* or balance of the *castanheiro*. If it was positive, the worker was paid in cash. If it was negative, he had to work the next year for the same *patrão*, or could also repay it by gathering other products during the year.⁵⁸

The merchants resorted to advances, then, in order to maintain the fidelity of all workers during the harvest; to avoid such indebtedness, workers sold nuts to other merchants. At the beginning of the harvest the workers purchased goods on credit at the commercial store – those debts would have to be repaid at the end of the harvest by collecting the same value in nuts. The

⁵⁶ CF, Autos de Manutenção de Posse, Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926, pp. 61-80; CF, Petição de Mandato de Apreensão de Castanhas, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926; See also the list of Brazil nut workers at Relação Geral dos Bens da Firma Augusto e Emerald, 1929, pp.16-17.

⁵⁷ Interview with Zuleide Melo, (born 1955), May 26, 2009.

⁵⁸ CF, Relação Geral dos Bens da Firma Augusto e Emerald, 1929; Petição de Falência da Firma Salon Cohen, 1931; both documents contain abundant information about the products provided by the *aviadores* and the balances of the extractors. Descriptions of the work performed by the *castanheiros* may be found at Frazão, *Castanha do Brasil* 4-5; Le Cointe, *L’amazonie Bresilienne*, 453-57. But the most informative document about work in the *castanhais* is by far Palma Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*. Here I have also relied on the approximately 40 interviews conducted with *mocambeiro*-descendants from Alenquer and Oriximiná, most of them former *castanheiros*, and on the interviews with Luis Bacellar Guerreiro (born 1929), former Brazil nut trader, and with Olinda Vallinoto (born 1924), Alenquer merchant Antonio Vallinoto’s daughter, former accountant and manager. More specific aspects of labor relations will be discussed below.

system was called *aviamento*: the worker was the *aviado* or *freguês*, and the supplier of the goods the *aviador* or *patrão*.⁵⁹ The landowner built a commercial store in a strategic point of the property, usually at the dock where the nuts were shipped. From there the owner or his manager oversaw the gathering of the nuts, paid the workers, and watched the river traffic, trying to avoid the presence of competing merchants. The basic design, however, admitted numerous variations. While the store was frequently supplied by a commercial firm from Oriximiná, Óbidos, or Alenquer, sometimes an *aviador* could supply several smaller merchants, and even buy nuts from independent extractors.⁶⁰ There could be as many intermediaries as the price of the nuts admitted. At the upper end of the chain, the *aviador* would sell the nuts to an export house who shipped them to foreign markets, mainly the UK and the US.⁶¹

Maroon descendants argue that the relations between merchants and the collectors greatly favored the former. The price of food and implements was very high, producing negative balance for the *castanheiros*. According to Zé Melo, who started working as a *castanheiro* in the mid-1950s at Lake Erepecu, “we knew that they were exploiting us, but we had no choice. The manioc flour ... many people did not bring theirs to the *castanhais*, and then you had to purchase it there. Sugar and everything else was more expensive there.” In sum, “at the end [of the nut season] you wanted to pay the balance of the products you bought, [and] the produce you had collected, the nuts, was not enough to cover it. You were in debt. (...) The nuts were cheap, and the products were expensive. You worked just for food in those months, most times you did not

⁵⁹ The system paralleled that employed in the rubber trade. See Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom: 1850-1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), 5-20.

⁶⁰ See for example Palma Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 39.

⁶¹ Ricardo Borges, *Castanha e Oleaginosas da Amazônia* (Belém: Associação Comercial do Pará, 1952), 6-8; Frazão, *Castanha do Brasil* maps ‘Produção e Exportação’ and ‘Recebedores’.

manage to bring home anything.”⁶² Dona Biquinha, who worked at the Erepecuru *castanhais* in the late 1940s, explains that “it was hard” to end the season with cash, “because it [the Brazil nut] had a low price (...) You collected many nuts but made little money.”⁶³ When Maria Teresa Fernandes Regis’s father died in 1947, she started working in the *castanhais* of the Erepecu, and like Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro, from the Tapagem community, who became a *castanheira* in the late 1930s, she sadly recalls how the nuts had a low price at the commercial store.⁶⁴

Valério and Zuleide Melo, from the Boa Vista community, who worked with their families for Costa Lima and his descendants at the Jacaré lake, claimed that he “cheated people. He never calculated the balance in front of the employee; when the worker got there, the balance was ready.”⁶⁵ In other words, Costa Lima manipulated the worker’s balance. “Yes, that happened,” adds Seu Zé Melo. “Because look: we did not know mathematics, and they cheated people. In addition to buying the produce cheap, they did the math and kept everything.”⁶⁶ It is difficult to assess the extent of this practice, for even if fraud was widespread, it would have been hard for the workers to prove it in court. Other oppressive practices, nonetheless, did exist and were registered in the documentary record.

Former *castanheiros*, for example, contended that if the owner of a *castanhal* or his manager caught a gatherer trying to make cash by clandestinely selling nuts to a different merchant or to a *regatão*, the worker was either arrested by the police or beaten by the manager. “You went straight to jail,” explained Maria de Souza, from the Erepecuru. “If you sold [nuts] to a *regatão*, you went to jail,” remarked Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro, to which her brother Seu

⁶² Interview with Zé Melo (born 1942), May 27, 2009.

⁶³ Interview with Dona Biquinha (born 1934), May 25, 2009.

⁶⁴ Collective interview with Nicanor (born 1940) and others, June 5, 2009; interview with Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro (born 1925), June 5, 2009.

⁶⁵ Interview with Valério and Zuleide Melo (born 1945 and 1955), May 26, 2009.

⁶⁶ Interview with Zé Melo (born 1942), May 27, 2009.

Duí added that “you lost the nuts, and you lost the job. They never gave it back to you.”⁶⁷ Merchants reported thefts of nuts to the police, who usually acted promptly to defend the merchants’ interests. Antônio Souza, a former Brazil nut worker during the 1950s and *mocambeiro*-descendant from Lake Abui, argued that when a *patrão* accused a local of stealing nuts, “before a week had passed, the police came, caught them, and sent them to Oriximiná.”⁶⁸ In January 1936 it took exactly seven days for the chief of police of Alenquer to arrest and seize the nuts collected by “strangers invading the *castanhal* [Felinto], where they are extracting nuts without the authorization” of the owners.⁶⁹ On March 6, 1930, Portuguese merchant Joaquim Tavares de Souza, who controlled the Brazil nut groves adjacent to the Pacoval community in the Curuá river, complained to the police that one Francisco Paes had “invaded and gathered a large number of nuts” from his *castanhais*. “You should immediately summon the invader and instruct him to cease these actions,” the Alenquer police chief instructed the local officer. “Otherwise, he will be brought to this office” to be interrogated.⁷⁰

Sometimes the merchants’ tight grip over the nuts expressed itself through physical violence. Manoel Vicente de Oliveira, a recently arrived worker to the *castanhais* of Alenquer, was “violently incarcerated” when a merchant reported to the police that he was working in a nearby city to repay a debt.⁷¹ On July 1935, Alenquer police chief Columbiano Marvão relieved

⁶⁷ Interview with Maria de Souza (born 1935), May 23, 2009; Interview with Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro (born 1925), June 5, 2009; Interview with Seu Duí, (born 1934), June 5, 2009. See also De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 45.

⁶⁸ Interview with Antônio Souza (born 1940), Abui community, June 5, 2009.

⁶⁹ Áurea Nina Personal Archive, Alenquer (henceforth ANPA), Livro de Petições e Portarias, Município de Alenquer, 1936, Portaria 2 and subsequent Certidão, January 14, 1936, and January 23, 1936.

⁷⁰ ANPA, Livro de Ocorrências Policiais, Município de Alenquer, 1934, Police Chief to Manoel Rodrigues, March 6, 1930. In this same book see Complaint from Marcos Alves, June 2, 1930, and Police Chief of Alenquer to Subprefeito de Cucuhy, June 4, 1930. See also Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará, Fundo Segurança Pública, Série Chefatura de Polícia, Caixa 389, Ofícios recebidos April-May 1925, Arnaldo Pereira de Moraes to Police Chief of Pará, April 4, 1925, which shows how police officers intervened in disputes over Brazil nuts.

⁷¹ APEP, FSP, SCP, Cx 434, Ofícios recebidos October-November 1926, Manoel Vicente de Oliveira to State Governor, October 6, 1926.

Antônio Vianna dos Santos, the manager of a Brazil nut commercial house, from his duties as police commissioner in the maroon-descendant community of Pacoval. “Exceeding his duty,” Vianna dos Santos had beaten Antônio Rufino de Oliveira, a local nut worker. He was suspended until an investigation was finished; the results of the investigation remain unknown.⁷²

Aviador Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho reported to the Land Bureau in 1924 that “the poor of the Rio Grande [Trombetas] ... sometimes have experienced the bars of the Óbidos jail, caught in arbitrary proceedings for revolting against exploitation by Crocodile Throat [*o Guêla do Jacaré*, i.e. Costa Lima].”⁷³ Costa Lima was “a scourge for the inhabitants of the Trombetas and the Cuminan [Erepecuru], stunning the entire population with his demarcations on paper, without any profit for the State and many problems for those who wish to dedicate themselves to extractive activities in that region.”⁷⁴ In a trial that took place two years later, Carvalho added that Costa Lima was making “mischief and violent actions” [*violências e tropelias*] against the people of the Trombetas, where there was considerable “buzzing” [*zoadas*] about him.⁷⁵

This description of Costa Lima’s expansion in the Trombetas river sheds light on two important points. On one hand, it is undeniable that the strategies deployed by Brazil nut merchants during the 1920s and later decades were felt as oppressive and often violent by the local population, composed mainly of *mocambeiros*. The merchants, as shown in this study of Costa Lima’s strategies, purchased *posses* that belonged to maroon-descendants, sometimes through abusive practices. They used the services of local *mateiros* or explorers and rewarded

⁷² ANPA, Livro de Petições e Portarias do Município de Alenquer, 1933, Portaria 159, July 29, 1935.

⁷³ There is a pun here impossible to translate properly: the Jacaré is the lake where Costa Lima started his activities, but also means “crocodile” in Portuguese. “Guêla do Jacaré,” therefore, means both the throat of the Jacaré Lake, and Crocodile Throat.

⁷⁴ Abelardo Conduru (Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho’s lawyer) to the Director of the SLB, February 2, 1924, at ITERPA, Autos de Medição “Tres Barracas” or “São Braz”, Theodora Gonçalves de Lima, 1923.

⁷⁵ CF, Manutenção de Posse, Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926 (II); Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926, p.70.

them poorly in exchange. They used knowledge of the legal procedures of land demarcation to “bend” reality, enlarging their properties, transforming maroon-descendants into nut workers, their houses into workers’ huts, and, in general, trying to erase the ex-maroons from the documentary record. In order to secure a stable supply of laborers, the merchants also subjected the *mocambeiros* to debt peonage and imported workers from out of the area. By fixing high prices for the products purchased at the *barracão* and probably by manipulating the balances, the merchants kept their workers in thrall and secured a disproportionate share of the profits of the Brazil nut trade. If the extractors tried to pilfer nuts, the local police moved promptly to guard the merchants’ interest.

However, a second idea resonates in Pessoa de Carvalho’s letter to the land bureau. By stating that the ex-maroons were “revolting against the plundering of Crocodile Throat,” Carvalho was making reference to the refusal of the *mocambeiros* to passively accept the merchants’ domination. To this subject we now turn.

6.4 OPPOSITIONAL RESPONSES

From the *mocambeiros*’ point of view, it was not easy to cope with the privatization of the Brazil nut fields. Since the colonial period the availability of marketable forest goods and of land to cultivate manioc had remained at the heart of the local peasant way of life, embraced by maroons and slaves who decided to live in the countryside because it gave them the possibility of forming autonomous family groups and communities. Forest goods were not only a substantial part in this

equation – they represented access to cash, and as such they were absolutely necessary to complement the consumption of manioc, the fundamental subsistence crop. Moreover, forest products were perceived by rural populations throughout Amazonia as a gift dropped in the backlands, awaiting the first to arrive and serve him or herself. Hence it is not strange that the *mocambeiros* frequently sought to skip subjection through different strategies.

One such strategy was the act of pilfering, which was seen as a crime by Brazil nut merchants and as a natural action by the Trombetas maroon-descendants. Nut pilfering, known among former *castanheiros* as “driblar,” to dodge or get past a merchant’s control, was frequent.⁷⁶ Captain Manoel Campello de Miranda explained in a report to the state chief of police in September 1931 how “I am constantly asked to take measures against the abusive habit of many individuals who are hired to work in the Brazil nut harvest (...) and they then sell them [the nuts] to others furtively.”⁷⁷ This was easier in *castanhais* closer to inhabited areas, where a denser river traffic and the proximity to trade houses provided more opportunities for *regatões* to buy nuts at night or in concealed transactions. In *castanhais* around the maroon-descendant community of Pacoval, for example, pilfering was more frequent than in the remote Acapu, where the circulation of people and canoes was less frequent and therefore could be controlled more easily.⁷⁸

Over time the increase in the number of merchants operating along the Trombetas also stimulated pilfering, for some commercial agents sought to buy nuts from properties belonging to other merchants. Seu Duí, for example, recalls how in the late 1940s Italian merchant Braz

⁷⁶ Interview with Antônio Nácio Vianna or Tio Nácio (born 1921), May 8, 2009, Pacoval community, conducted in Alenquer; Interview with Dona Lucimar or Mimita (born 1920), April 23, 2009, Pacoval community; Interview with Dona Maria da Cruz de Assis or Cruzinha (born 1944), Pacoval community, April 20, 2009.

⁷⁷ ANPA, Livro de Ocorrências Policiais, Município de Alenquer, 1934, Cpt. Manoel Campello de Miranda to Police Chief of Pará, undated (c. September 1931), p. 75.

⁷⁸ João Petronilla Pereira on behalf of Elysio Pessôa de Carvalho to the Juiz de Direito de Obidos, November 8, 1923, in ITERPA, Autos de Medição “Tres Barracas” or “São Braz”, Theodora Gonçalves de Lima, 1923.

Sarubbi had an employee who bought nuts from Zé Machado's workers at Farias *castanhal*, near Lake Tapagem: "he entered at night and bought the nuts."⁷⁹ Confrontations between different merchants became frequent once the main fields had been privatized, and so did the seizure of nuts allegedly stolen.⁸⁰

Aside from pilfering, the *mocambeiros* tried to keep marginal Brazil nut fields away from the merchants' control. Seu Duí related how in 1949 "my father had a *ponta de castanha* that he called Encantado. It is located outside Machado's [Costa Lima's son-in-law] Brazil nut grove. Only he and other elders knew about it. It was far away from his workpost."⁸¹ When Zé Machado reported to the police that Seu Duí and his father had stolen nuts from the merchant's property, the Cordeiros indignantly rejected the accusation. "Negative, young man," the father replied to the policeman sent to seize the nuts. "I will not give you the nuts. They are mine, we got them from that *ponta de castanha* where we work, it does not belong to Zé Machado." After a long discussion, the policeman finally carried the nuts away under the promise that Machado would compensate the Cordeiros for the seizure. Ultimately, however, "they did not pay for the nuts. He [Machado] kept them, but did not pay. They were gone," Seu Duí remarked sadly. His case was not unique: other maroon-descendants tell similar stories of merchants' attempts to seize nuts collected from *castanhais* they did not control.⁸² As Seu Duí's story shows, even the

⁷⁹ Interview with Seu Duí (born 1934), June 5, 2009. See also collective interview with Nicanor (born 1940), Aldenor Pereira de Jesus (born 1953), Teresa Fernandes Regis (born 1938), and Raymundo Dias Barbosa (born 1947), all from Erepecu lake, June 6, 2009.

⁸⁰ For example CF, *Manutenção de Posse*, Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926; *Manutenção de Posse*, Raimundo da Costa Lima v. João Farias Goudinho, 1928; ANPA, *Livro de Ocorrências Policiais*, Município de Alenquer, 1934, cases from March 6, 1930; June 4, 1930; December 29, 1930; February 4, 1931; February 14, 1931; March 24, 1931, etc.

⁸¹ Entire story from interview with Seu Duí (born 1934), June 5, 2009.

⁸² Interview with Seu Duí (born 1934), June 5, 2009; see also interview with Antônio Souza and Edith Printes, (born in 1940 and 1943), June 5, 2009; interview with Dona Cruzinha (born 1944), April 20, 2009.

yields of marginal Brazil nut groves were ferociously coveted by the merchants, who sought complete control of local output.

Mocambeiros seeking to evade such controls might theoretically have migrated to nearby cities like Oriximiná, Óbidos, Alenquer, or Santarém. But rural to urban migration was not very frequent between the 1920s and the 1960s. According to several of my informants, “people at that time did not like their children to live far away, they wanted to keep them close.”⁸³ Mistrust of rich landowners may have motivated this refusal to permit offspring to leave: the locals knew that their children could end up under the legal tutelage of richer individuals,⁸⁴ a deeply ingrained fear among those who had known slavery.⁸⁵ In the 1960s and 1970s seasonal and permanent migration out of the Trombetas became more frequent, as the labor market in Oriximiná expanded, demands for access to health care and education broadened, and new forces entered the Lower Amazon, altering forever the terms of negotiation between merchants and *mocambeiros*.

Pilfering and retaining control of marginal *castanhais*, then, were strategies of individual resistance to the subjection imposed by Brazil nut merchants. However, they had limited results: perhaps small cash gains for a while, or slightly expanded job prospects in an urban area. Furthermore, the costs of engaging in such actions could be very high, for the merchants would not hesitate to employ violence against those who violated their property rights, and the law was

⁸³ Interview with Seu Duí (born 1934), June 5, 2009; Interview with Zé Melo (born 1942), May 27, 2009.

⁸⁴ CF, Petição de Manoel Avelino de Oliveira, 1929, requesting that his 11-year-old daughter, who was in José Gabriel Guerreiro’s power, be returned to him; Petição de Tutela de Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho, 1930, requesting to be the guardian of his employee Sebastião Vianna Lima’s minor daughter; APEP, FSP, SCP, Cx 368, Minutas de Offícios Enviados, May – July 1924, Police Chief of Pará to Police Sub-Chief of Curuá-Alenquer, June 5, 1924, in which the Pará chief of police requested that the minor Atalias do Espírito Santo, “who is employed in the Felinto estate,” be sent to Belém.

⁸⁵ Elione Silva Guimarães, *Múltiplos Viveres de Afrodescendentes na Escravidão e no Pós-Emancipação: Família, Trabalho, Terra e Conflito (Juiz de Fora - MG, 1828-1928)* (São Paulo / Juiz de Fora: Annablume / Funalfa Edições 2006), 110-112, 157; Ana Lugão Rios and Hebe Maria Mattos, *Memórias do Cativo: Família, Trabalho e Cidadania no Pós-Abolição* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2005), 50, 174.

on their side. This explains why most *mocambeiros* decided not to employ oppositional strategies very frequently. Occasionally, however, they did so: in 1932 near the Jarauacá lake Irineu da Silva Pinto and others settled in the *castanhal* Boa Vista, adjacent to the present-day community of Terra Preta. The *castanhal* had been acquired by Manoel Costa in 1926; when Costa's manager evicted them, they resettled again, arguing that "the land belonged to their grandparents and parents ... that they are there following orders and that they will react, if necessary, with bullets."⁸⁶ In the end, the Judge supported Manoel Costa's claim and authorized the return of the property to its legal owner – no bloodshed apparently took place.⁸⁷

Pinto and the other families involved in this incident made reference to their traditional occupation of the area to support their claim. This used to be the cornerstone of such claims and the idiom they used to describe themselves as legitimate owners of disputed lands in the Trombetas and the Curuá river, as we will see in the following pages. However, the idea that the *mocambeiros* were "following orders," which Manoel Costa reiterated numerous times as a way of de-legitimizing their claims, opens the possibility that they may have acted with the help of another Brazil nut merchant. Could other forces be mobilized to help the *mocambeiros* maintain access to land? Perhaps the rising rivalries between different commercial houses could be exploited in favor of the maroon-descendants.

⁸⁶ CF, Acção Summaria de Esbulho, Manoel Costa v. Irineu da Silva Pinto e outros, 1932.

⁸⁷ CF, Acção Summaria de Esbulho, Manoel Costa v. Irineu da Silva Pinto e outros, 1932, p. 35.

6.5 “FATHERS OF THE PEOPLE” AND “BOOTLICKERS”

A peculiar meeting took place on December 28, 1935, at the house of surveyor José Henrique Diniz in Oriximiná. Those attending included Diniz, Brazil nut merchant José Gabriel Guerreiro Junior, surveyor Agrimino Valmont, local police agent Manoel Roberto de Azevedo Vasconcellos, and “forty-odd nut workers.”⁸⁸ The reason Vasconcellos had been sent from Óbidos to Oriximiná was that “these working men wished to make some questions about [the] lands that surveyor Valmont was going to verify ... at the request of Mr. Raymundo da Costa Lima.” They argued that “within the boundaries [of the property] purchased by Mr. Costa Lima, there existed many plots already requested by different residents, who work in the nut harvest.” Moreover,

some of them have been cheated by Mr. Costa Lima, who, according to them, requests for example a six-thousand-meter area and then separates ten thousand, and later transforms the provisional boundaries into an official land deed. They fear that the same will happen now, because the immense expanse [of land] that will be divided by surveyor Valmont ... reaches the region where many Brazil nut extractors have worked and resided for many years.

The *mocambeiros* formed the bulk of workers who came to Oriximiná to protest against Costa Lima’s land demarcation. The key to identify them is the statement that the workers “have resided there for many years” and were “good Brazilians”, a frequent way of presenting themselves before a public authority, and a frequent form of labeling by others.⁸⁹ They argued that “Costa Lima has a relentless ambition, is the lord of most of the Trombetas river, [and]

⁸⁸ APEP, FSP, SCP, Cx 409, Ofícios recebidos February 1925 – January 1926, Commissioner Manoel Roberto de Azevedo Vasconcellos to the Óbidos Police Chief, December 28, 1925.

⁸⁹ See for example CF, Ação Sumária de Esbulho, Manoel Costa v. Irineu da Silva Pinto e outros; ITERPA, Autos de medição “Leonardo,” Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1924; Otille Coudreau, *Voyage au Cuminá: 20 Avril 1900 - 7 Setembro 1900* (Paris: Lahure, 1901), 19, 22-23.

exploits and mercilessly persecutes those who are poor and have no protection whatsoever.”⁹⁰ If the state government authorized the land sale to Costa Lima, they argued, “they will be evicted and they will have no other place to work, losing their [land] improvements, and the despair of struggling for life will throw them,” they warned, “to an act of sudden violence, which they, as good Brazilians, want to avoid at all costs.”

Facing Costa Lima’s appropriation of lands in the Trombetas river, a large group of *mocambeiros* approached the authorities and asked them to stop his acquisition of land in the area. This represented a qualitatively different strategy from individual pilfering. The *mocambeiros* knew, as did many other Brazilian peasants in the early 1900s, that protracted residence and work on a parcel of land conferred rights of possession that could potentially be recognized in court. Coupled with the fact that some *mocambeiros* registered *posse* deeds when they migrated below the waterfalls, as we saw in the previous chapter, this means that some notions about the functioning of the legal system, and the expectation that it would treat the *mocambeiros* fairly, sometimes guided their actions during these decades. They were also conscious that a collective complaint was more likely than individual complaints to gain leverage and attract the attention of local authorities.

But another element in this story is absolutely fundamental: the presence of José Gabriel Guerreiro Júnior in the meeting. It indicates that the ex-maroons sometimes acted in the company of, and perhaps influenced by, Brazil nut merchants who competed with each other. And here lies the second level of relations between *mocambeiros* and merchants, one characterized by cooperation, accommodation, and paternalism across class boundaries. Relations of this type stemmed from longstanding traditions of rural paternalism that found

⁹⁰ Otilie Coudreau, *Voyage au Cuminá*, 2.

fertile ground and were re-signified according to local conditions. The *aviadores* controlled the flow of material goods in environments where manufactured items were scarce and expensive, allowing them to become patriarchal rural oligarchs.⁹¹

If a *mocambeiro* from the Acapu river needed items such as medicines, cloth, or fishing tools, he or she would turn to the local merchant.⁹² The alternative was traveling to Oriximiná, an expensive and time-consuming operation. Merchants also provided money and goods on credit to celebrate events as important as a baptism, when a priest visited the communities.⁹³ Occasions like these, then, became linked to the power of the merchant, who probably could not exert a tight control over the *mocambeiros* but had some degree of influence over them. *Aviador* merchants also financed other celebrations, like a party at the end of the nut harvest, in order to appear as benefactors of the community, or “fathers of the people,” as Costa Lima was called by one of my informants.⁹⁴ Dona Maria Rosa explained how he used to provide funds for parties after the nut harvest; Teresa Fernandez Regis, from Lake Erepecu, also recalled how the owners of local *castanhais* contributed to the celebrations of saints’ days.⁹⁵ Contributing to such events became a visible way for the merchants to present themselves as benefactors while trying to counter-balance their image of exploiters.

⁹¹ Two works analyzing reconfigurations of the patriarchal family in different environments are Zephyr Frank, “Elite Families and Oligarchic Politics on the Brazilian Frontier,” *Latin American Research Review* 36, 1 (2001): 49-74, and Cacilda Machado, “O Patriarcalismo Possível: Relações de Poder em Uma Região do Brasil Escravista em que o Trabalho Familiar Era a Norma,” *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População* 23, 1 (2006): 167-186. The classic work on this subject is Guillermo Giucci, et al, ed. *Gilberto Freyre: Casa-Grande & Senzala* (Edição Crítica. Paris: Ed. Unesco, 2002).

⁹² CF, *Relação Geral dos Bens da Firma Augusto e Emerald*, 1929, pp. 11-12.

⁹³ CF, *Relação Geral dos Bens da Firma Augusto e Emerald*, 1929, pp. 15. On sporadic visits of different priests to rural communities, see Paróquia de Alenquer (PA), *Livro de Baptismos*, 1910-1911; *Livro de Óbitos*, 1918; *Livro de Baptismos*, 1935-1937. See also collective interview with Nicanor (born 1940) and others, all from Erepecu lake, 6/6/09.

⁹⁴ Interview with Francisco Alegre or Colé, Boa Vista community, June 4, 2009 (born 1952). Colé worked for Zé Machado, Costa Lima’s son in law, and his father worked for Costa Lima himself. “Friend of the people” was also used by a maroon-descendant in 1988 to refer to the Portuguese owner of a trade store at the Pacoval community Joaquim Tavares de Souza, in De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 44.

⁹⁵ Collective interview with Teresa Fernandes Regis (born 1938) and others, June 6, 2009.

Sometimes the merchants solidified their relations with *mocambeiros* by becoming godfathers. This was the case of Seu Duí, whose godfather was Zé Machado, Costa Lima's son-in-law. "They [Zé Machado and his family] asked to baptize me there, at Lake Jacaré, and so they did." Seu Duí's sister Dona Maria Rosa had Judith da Costa Lima, Raimundo's daughter, as a godmother. *Aviador* merchant Milton Magalhães had a store near the community of Pacoval. In 1921 he participated with the Pacovalenses in a public protest during the visit of a state commission to resolve a land dispute. However, Magalhães did not simply have commercial relations with the *mocambeiros*, he became the godfather and the wedding witness of Dona Piquixita, a maroon-descendant woman from Pacoval. Bonds like this existed between many other maroon-descendants and the nut traders, who were continuing a local tradition of long standing.⁹⁶

But what came out of creating ties of baptism and *compadrio* between merchants and former maroons? Sometimes nothing at all: in Seu Duí's case, for example, no significant rewards or benefits came out of that relation. In other cases, as with Dona Biquinha's brother from the Pancada community in the Erepecuru, there was some preferential treatment: the nuts he gathered were purchased by the local manager at a higher price than others'.⁹⁷ A handful of *mocambeiros* did develop close ties of *compadrio* with Brazil nut merchants, who bestowed upon those selected individuals special privileges and sometimes material rewards. This relationship benefitted both members: while the merchant obtained a reliable local agent, the *mocambeiro* obtained social prestige and a higher cash income.

⁹⁶ Interview with Maria José Monteiro or Dona Piquixita (born 1915), Pacoval, April 22, 2009; Palma Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 28-29.; APEP, Documentação Notarial, Livro de Registro de Imóveis de Óbidos, January 9, 1930, sale deed of São Julião, Lake Javary, where the godsons José and Raymundo lived on an adjoining property. On the tradition of godparenting by notable men, see PA, Livro de Batismo 1895-1899, for example godparent Rosemiro Marques Baptista on pages 18, 26, 41, 66.

⁹⁷ Interview with Dona Biquinha (born 1934), May 25, 2009.

This was the case with numerous *mateiros* or explorers discussed earlier in this chapter. In the case of Augusto Cordeiro, who worked for Costa Lima in the area between Lake Jacaré and Lake Tapagem, *compadrio* bonds helped the merchant extend his grip over the local population: Costa Lima “took an old black man” as *compadre* “and won a lot of godsons there: a priest went to the Batido property to baptize them, and then he [Costa Lima] obtained a lot of *compadres*.” By taking Augusto Cordeiro as a *compadre*, Costa Lima obtained direct access to information about the *pontas de castanha*, and from there he sought to baptize more children like Seu Duí or Dona Maria Rosa, in order to have access to further information about community activities, new *castanhais*, etc. On the other side of the relationship, Cordeiro obtained some compensation for his discovery of *castanhais*, but as we saw such rewards apparently were not very significant. Nevertheless, some Cordeiros seem to have benefitted from special treatment by Costa Lima: some of them, for example Raimundo da Silva Cordeiro or Seu Donga (1907-1994), became community leaders, and others had access to jobs in the public sector by the mid-1900s.

Another special relation was created when maroon-descendants became the merchants’ commercial representatives and *prepostos*. A *preposto* was usually an extractor or commercial store administrator who installed himself in an unsurveyed area, representing a Brazil nut trader. When the moment came, the presence of this type of tenant legitimated a merchant’s claim to buy that land. Most contracts between *prepostos* and the merchants were informal, and to the best of my knowledge none has surfaced in an archive. However, in disputed areas containing nuts the use of *prepostos* was frequent: in 1926, for example, Elyzio Pessoa argued that Costa Lima had sent *prepostos* to occupy a *castanhal* in the upper Craval river,⁹⁸ although Pessoa

⁹⁸ CF, Mandato de Apprehensão de Castanhas, Raimundo da Costa Lima v. Elyzio Pessoa de Carvalho, 1926, p.19.

himself had employed the Magalhães brothers as *prepostos* in the same area.⁹⁹ Sometimes the *preposto* system merged with other categories of special employees of the merchants, like the *fiscal* (manager), *mandatário* (envoy), *representante* (representative), *procurador* (attorney, solicitor), *explorador* (explorer), and even *freguês* (customer). To complicate things further, these commercial agents sometimes paid land and commercial taxes separately from their patrons, so in tax records they appear as “owner of a commercial store” in this or that place. For instance, maroon-descendant explorer João Petronillo Pereira, who discovered several *castanhais* for Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho during the 1910s and 1920s, described himself in a 1926 trial as explorer, founder of commercial stations, *procurador*, and representative for Carvalho, simultaneously.¹⁰⁰ Maroon-descendant Manoel Theodoro dos Santos, a former *preposto* who appears as “owner of a commercial house” in tax records from 1907 and 1916, was actually Costa Lima’s employee in different *castanhais*.¹⁰¹

An illustrative case of what could be obtained from these deals between merchants and locals is that of Antônio Vianna dos Santos, from Pacoval, who by the 1920s was Portuguese merchant Joaquim Tavares de Souza’s main *fiscal* or manager in the Felinto and Praia Grande Brazil nut groves (Alenquer).¹⁰² Vianna became Souza’s *compadre*; he lived near those properties and closely supervised the maroon-descendants who gathered the nuts. Sometimes he was too zealous in carrying out his duties: as indicated above, he beat at least one, and probably

⁹⁹ CF, Manutenção de Posse, Elyzio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926.

¹⁰⁰ CF, Manutenção de Posse, Elyzio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926 (II), pp.61-64.

¹⁰¹ CF, Manutenção de Posse, Elyzio Pessoa de Carvalho v. Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1926 (II), p. 70; AMO, Lançamento do Imposto de Indústria e Profissão, 1907, commercial houses 197 and 263; AMO, Lançamento do Imposto de Indústria e Profissão, 1916, p.6; Abelardo Leão Conduru, Elysio Pessoa de Carvalho’s lawyer, to SLB Director, February 22, 1924, in ITERPA, Autos de Medição “Tres Barracas” or “São Braz”, Theodora Gonçalves de Lima, 1923.

¹⁰² Interview with Dona Cruzinha (born 1944), May 1, 2009; interview with Dona Nazita (Old Vianna’s granddaughter, born 1946), Pacoval community, April 21, 2009; interview with Cleinilze Souza Silva (Joaquim Tavares de Souza’s granddaughter, born 1954), Santarém, April 27, 2009.

more, of those who attempted to pilfer nuts.¹⁰³ From Souza's standpoint, Vianna was a very valuable asset: he not only was a loyal manager but his being from Pacoval meant that he had privileged access to information about attempts to defraud the owners of the *castanhais*. Vianna in turn obtained a source of cash without having to work as a *castanheiro*, which as we have seen was work full of uncertainties and difficulties. He also gained social prestige among his fellow Pacovalenses: Vianna became the godfather of numerous children in the mid-1930s.¹⁰⁴ But he obtained more than that: when his granddaughter Figênia became pregnant by one of Souza's relatives in the early 1960s, he obtained compensation (ten head of cattle) thanks to his special relation of *compadrio* with Souza.¹⁰⁵ In later years, the girl's father provided funds for her education.

Compadrio relations served in this case to avoid open conflict, resolving it through a deal that included substantial material compensation. Had these ties not existed, the Viannas ran the risk of obtaining no help whatsoever, as happened in 1934 with an illegitimate daughter that merchant José Antonio Picanço Diniz had with a female worker on his family's Salgado ranch.¹⁰⁶ *Compadrio* relations, then, helped the merchants to ease the disputes derived from class domination, and simultaneously reinforced the social prestige, the moral authority, or the material welfare of the maroon-descendants who became *compadres* of their patrons, sometimes at the expense of their fellow *mocambeiros*.

¹⁰³ See note 72.

¹⁰⁴ PA, Livro de Batismo 1935-1937, pp. 41, 44-47.

¹⁰⁵ Interviews with Dona Nazita (born 1946), April 29, 2009; interview with Cleinilze Souza Silva (born 1954), April 29, 2009.

¹⁰⁶ CF, Autos de Acção Ordinária de Reconhecimento de Paternidade Cumulada com Petição de Alimentos –Dulce Furtado dos Reis, pelo Assist. Judiciario v. José Anto. Picanço Diniz, 1934. Dulce provided one witness, but her request for recognition of paternity and child support was denied on the accusation that she was in reality a prostitute.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In the race to occupy the lands and control the natural resources of the Trombetas and other rivers in the Lower Amazon, the maroons who had lived above the waterfalls for decades made the first move. During the second half of the nineteenth century they settled in the lakes area, using its natural resources to diversify their economic and social strategies and gain access to cash. But as the 1900s advanced, merchants and landowners moved into the region, acquiring property and seeking information about the location of Brazil nut fields. In the process of purchasing the *castanhais*, the merchants sought to enlarge them through various forms of fraud. Land records show how the merchants attempted to eliminate the maroons from the written record by making them pass as nut collectors, and their residences as seasonal workers' huts. But this was not enough for the merchants: the maroon-descendants had to be *loyal* wage workers. With this goal in mind Brazil nut merchants sought to avoid the pilfering of nuts and to reinforce the stability of labor. Debt peonage and the manipulation of the workers' balances are two good examples. If the extractors tried to break the rules, their patrons would not hesitate to summon the police and sometimes to use violence.

To a great extent the merchants won the game. They amassed substantial fortunes, diversified their activities, and conquered local politics. The wealth brought by Brazil nuts allowed the Guerreiro family, for example, to enter the ranks of the local elite. When in 1934 Oriximiná was separated from Óbidos and became an independent county (*município*), José Gabriel Guerreiro's son Helvécio Imbiriba became its mayor between 1935 and 1943; Helvécio's brother José Gabriel Guerreiro Júnior ruled between 1943 and 1947; and another son, Guilherme

was mayor between 1948 and 1950.¹⁰⁷ They spent a total of fifteen years in power. Raimundo da Costa Lima's son-in-law inherited extensive Brazil nut fields valued at 155 contos de réis in 1941, and considerable influence in the local matters of Oriximiná.¹⁰⁸

Because they had come to rely on the cash and goods obtained from itinerant merchants during the time when the *castanhais* were “free,” the maroons rarely moved deeper into the forest to avoid subjection. No doubt this action was considered at some point, but this would have implied isolating themselves from access to material goods necessary for daily life, as well as from participation in family networks, religious festivities, and in general from contacts with the broader society. In sum, it would have represented a return to the past. Gradually, then, the *mocambeiros* saw themselves obliged to become Brazil nut workers.

This does not mean, however, that they passively accepted this reality. The *mocambeiros* stole as many nuts as they could and sold them to competing merchants. Intra-elite rivalries could thus be used to soften the effects of subjection. Maroon-descendants also tried to keep some Brazil nut fields secret, in order to safeguard some cash for themselves. Occasionally groups of maroons requested the intervention of the authorities to protect themselves from the relentless ambitions of the merchants. And some maroons migrated to urban centers, though this was a trend that did not become numerically very important until the mid-1900s.

None of these strategies allowed the *mocambeiros* to exit poverty. By the mid-twentieth century they largely continued to live as Brazil nut collectors, residing in their hamlets and combining manioc flour with produce from orchards and the forest to make a living, hours away

¹⁰⁷ Helvécio was both appointed by the governor and won an election, José Gabriel Jr. was appointed, and Guilherme won election twice. Interview with Luis Bacellar Guerreiro, 6/9/09 (born 1929); João Walter Tavares, *Inventário Cultural, Social, Político e Econômico de Oriximiná* (Oriximiná: Prefeitura Municipal de Oriximiná, 2006), 9, 14-15.

¹⁰⁸ Fragments of Raimundo da Costa Lima's Post-Mortem Inventory, 1941, in ITERPA, Autos de Medição Paraíso, Raimundo da Costa Lima, 1921.

from medical attention or educational facilities. In 1940, 82.5% of the population of Oriximiná was illiterate.¹⁰⁹ The contrast between their living conditions and those of the Brazil nut merchants leaves no doubt of who won the race to control the Trombetas river, at least in material terms.

However, not all the stories of that period fit a narrative of winners and losers. Some *mocambeiros* carved out their own special relationships with landowning merchants, which allowed them to obtain extra cash payments, better wages, contributions to community celebrations, better prices for nuts, social prestige, and protection from some abuses. But this second level of relations between Brazil nut merchants and *mocambeiros* has yet another layer of significance. While it allowed some *mocambeiros* to improve their situation, it also served the traders to advance their interests in the area by accessing information about new *castanhais* or about pilfering, and by creating a body of reliable managers and *prepostos*. The merchants could thus penetrate the cultural fabric that knitted the maroon-descendant communities together, neutralizing some of the tensions caused by the process of land privatization. In the long term, by providing an “escape hatch” for those who sought to improve their economic situation and had the knowledge to do it, and by reducing the *mocambeiros*’ capacity to act independently of the merchant, this second level of relations between Brazil nut merchants and *mocambeiros* consolidated class domination in the region.

¹⁰⁹ IBGE, PA, *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil (1º de Setembro de 1940): Série Regional: Parte III - Pará*, (Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1952), 144.

7.0 COLLECTIVE PROTEST, 1921-1943

At the height of Brazil nut exports, during the interwar period, Afro-descendant peasants sometimes resorted to collective action to defend their free access to the Brazil nut groves. While in Chapter 6.0 we saw how they occasionally requested the intervention of the authorities to end abuses by commercial houses, in this one the scope will shift to larger actions of protest, sudden explosions of popular unrest that took the form of anti-immigrant uprisings and attacks against land surveyors. I will start by analyzing in detail the 1921 revolt of Alenquer, in which a coalition of merchants and maroons from the community of Pacoval opposed the privatization of local *castanhais*. I will argue that this coalition was constructed through traditional mechanisms of patronage and was based on the overlapping agendas of the *mocambeiros* and a group of nut traders. In other words, the revolt cannot be considered, as Republican policymaker João de Palma Muniz argued, the result of dishonest merchants' manipulation of poor and ignorant peasants.

Muniz's characterization of the Alenquer conflict is very telling of how Republican policymakers resolved conflicts over land in the post-rubber boom era in Pará. He and other statesmen like Governor Lauro Sodré (1891-97, 1917-21) or Henrique Santa Rosa, head of the Land Bureau for most of the First Republic, held a common set of principles that guided their policies of access to land, and that are representative of the First Republic in Brazil (1889-1930). This corpus of orienting principles constitutes the subject of the second part of this chapter,

where some of its ideological origins and its contempt for the so-called “social question” are emphasized.

However, while professional politicians held a set of ideas on how to act facing popular protest, so too did the members of non-elite social groups who participated in those protests. After briefly looking at the wave of popular mobilization that spread across the Lower Amazon in the 1920s, I then turn to the moral economy of land tenure in the region. While xenophobic ideas and patron-client practices characterized popular action in the period, the notion that Brazil nuts were a common good stands out powerfully in the agenda of those who revolted. It should also be said that in this case Afro-descendants in the Lower Amazon participated in broader coalitions against land privatization.

In 1930, Getúlio Vargas, a landowner and former governor of Rio Grande do Sul, was brought to power in Rio by a political coalition opposed to continued Republican control of the nation. In Pará, Vargas named Joaquim de Magalhães Cardoso Barata as his first military “interventor,” or appointed and tightly supervised governor. Like Vargas, Barata presented himself as a Father of the Poor. Despite his agenda of social change, however, in the vast countryside of Pará his policies fell short of challenging the domination that propertied men exerted over the most valuable agricultural and extractive land. Brazil nut merchants in the Lower Amazon barely saw their position threatened by Barata. Baratismo had little impact on social relations in the countryside during the 1930s and early 1940s; social, economic, and political changes would not arrive in the Amazon until later.

7.1 “THE SENTIMENT OF REVOLT THAT DOMINATES THEM”:

ALENQUER, 1921

On March 12, 1921, the city council of Alenquer made the unusual gesture of asking the state government to keep the Praia Grande Brazil nut field public, because it included “the vastest and largest *castanhais* on that river [the Curuá], where most Brazil nut collectors reside during the harvest period.” The commercial house Vallinoto & Cia. had requested the sale of the *castanhal*, “preventing free access to it” and imposing “onerous, vexatious and humiliating conditions” upon those who wished to work there. The council also explained that “the feelings of that class [the nut collectors] are running high, because they perceive that this harms their interests and is an act of plunder, even more so in these times of economic crisis.” The council therefore requested that the Praia Grande *castanhal* remain in the public domain – otherwise nut workers would unleash “the sentiment of revolt that dominates them.”¹

After evaluating Vallinoto’s and the council’s claims, and expressing its suspicion that “the outcry against the contested sale is certainly due to circumstances other than the harm caused [to Brazil nut collectors],” the state government decided to send a special envoy to analyze the conflict on the ground.² Civil engineer and jurist João de Palma Muniz was designated to hear the parts in conflict, inspect the fields in question, and evaluate the validity of Vallinoto’s claim. The choice was not random: a high-profile member of the Partido

¹ Alenquer City Council to State Government, March 12, 1921, at Instituto de Terras do Pará (henceforth ITERPA), Property Martinica, Antônio Vallinoto, 1920. See also Public Archive of Pará (henceforth APEP), Executive Power Fund, João de Palma Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer: Relatório de Verificação Local, Apresentado ao Sr. Dr. Antonino de Souza Castro, Governador do Estado pelo Engenheiro Civil João de Palma Muniz, Chefe da 3ª Secção da Directoria de Obras Publicas* (Belém: ?, 1921).

² Henrique Santa Rosa to State Secretary General, April 12, 1921, at ITERPA, Martinica, Antônio Vallinoto, 1920.

Republicano Paraense, Muniz was a specialist on Paraense land policy. He edited the complete collection of property and *posse* deeds at the State Land Registry in 1905-1906, published them in five volumes, and wrote an introduction analyzing land laws in Pará since the colonial period. The collection has remained ever since the main index of pre-1906 land deeds in Pará, and his studies on municipal patrimony and state and local borders were also very important.³ In addition, he was an active historian, publishing several studies about Paraense topics and presiding over the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Pará*.⁴ By sending such a prominent figure, the administration sought to resolve a situation that could cause not only social turmoil but also conflicts among local elites.

His mission would not be easy: a climate of agitation and unrest plagued Alenquer. On August 22, right after his arrival, some locals approached Muniz during a public hearing to warn him that his inspection “would perhaps not take place because there was great determination to prevent it, and if he embarked on the Curuá river, the ... inspection visit would end at Pacoval,” a community of maroon-descendants who worked as Brazil nut collectors.⁵ Local merchant Francisco dos Santos Amaral also warned Muniz that during the visit he should not bring any

³ Studies about land-related issues include João de Palma Muniz, *Patrimonios dos Conselhos Municipaes do Estado do Pará* (Paris / Lisbon: Aillaud & Cia., 1904); Muniz, ed., *Indice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, vol. 1 (Belem: Imprensa Official, 1907); Muniz, *Indice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, vol. 5 - Registros de Posse (Belém: Imprensa Official, 1909); Muniz, *Limites Pará-Goyaz: Notas e Documentos* (Belém: Imprensa Official do Estado, 1920); Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer: Relatório de Verificação Local, Apresentado ao Sr. Dr. Antonino de Souza Castro, Governador do Estado pelo Engenheiro Civil João de Palma Muniz, Chefe da 3ª Secção da Directoria de Obras Publicas* (Belem: ?, 1921); Muniz, *Legislação de Terras: Dados Estadísticos* (Belém: Departamento de Obras Públicas, Terras e Viação, 1924).

⁴ Among his numerous historical studies the most important were Muniz, "Os Contemplados (Não Contemplados com Documentação)," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Pará* 1, 1 (1912); Muniz, *O Instituto Santo Antonio do Prata (Município de Igarapé-Assú)* (Belém: Typ. da Livraria Escolar, 1913); Muniz, *Estado de Grao-Pará: Imigração e Colonização: História e Estatística* (Belém: Imprensa Official do estado do Pará, 1916); Muniz, "Adesão do Grão-Pará à Independência," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Pará* 6, 4 (1922); Muniz, "Grenfell na História do Pará, 1823-1824," *Annaes da Biblioteca e Archivo Público* 10 (1926); Muniz, *Adesão do Grão-Pará à Independência e Outros Ensaio*s (Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1973).

⁵ On Pacoval as a maroon community, see Euripedes Funes, "Nasci nas Matas, Nunca Tive Senhor": História e Memória dos Mocambos do Baixo Amazonas" (PhD Dissertation, FFLCH / USP, 1995).

surveying instruments “because the people of the Curuá river will revolt upon seeing them.” Another merchant told Muniz that he was at risk of being killed. The night before the expedition left Alenquer, an unidentified individual yelled from a bridge, “there will be no survey!”⁶ Two days later, as Muniz embarked on a motorboat to visit the *castanhais*, a launch with forty people approached the vessel cheering “for Mr. Santos Amaral, for the governor, ... for Palma Muniz, for the blacks of Pacoval, and for the Curuá river in liberty (...) they were the so-called BLACKS OF PACOVAL,” Muniz reported, trying to obtain a hearing with the commission.⁷ Muniz, replied that he would meet them after he had inspected the area and gathered information about the *castanhais*.

Several days later, on his way back to Alenquer, Muniz did stop by to hear the “blacks of Pacoval.” Their hamlet consisted of “a single street, very narrow and scruffy” and “thatched-roof huts, some with daub on latticed frames of wood, less than 35 in number.”⁸ Most of the approximately 200 individuals residing there were the descendants of the legendary *mocambeiros* of the Curuá river, an area with a history of marronage similar to the Trombetas. In 1876, 135 of the *mocambeiros* had turned themselves in to local authorities, apparently under the influence of Luiz de Oliveira Martins, a local merchant.⁹ They were shipped to Belém, where, after a long and hard-fought legal dispute involving slave-owners, public attorneys, and journalists, some of them returned to Pacoval as free men while others were re-enslaved.¹⁰ The

⁶ APEP, Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 12. See also Palma Muniz to State Secretary, August 25, 1921 at the original dossier, also at APEP, Fundo do Executivo, Section Obras Públicas, Terras, e Viação (henceforth OPTV).

⁷ APEP, Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alenquer*, 16-17. Emphasis is from the original unless otherwise stated.

⁸ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 47.

⁹ Funes, “Nasci nas Matas”, 194, 97, 203.

¹⁰ The exact numbers are unknown. Funes, “Nasci nas Matas,” 193-226. See also Lygia Conceição Leitão Teixeira, *Marambiré: O Negro no Folclore Paraense* (Belém: Secretaria de Cultura / Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves, 1989), 23-26.

community continued to exist, and in 1901 it was elevated to the condition of *povoação* or hamlet.¹¹

The Pacovalenses' central claim was that the Curuá remained "free" and its *castanhais* a public good: they therefore opposed Vallinoto's land purchase. "After some childish denunciations of merchants from Alenquer for not using exclusively the *blacks of Pacoval* in the Brazil nut harvest," maroon-descendant Antonio Pedro asked that the Curuá river "constitute a sort of patrimony of the *blacks*, so that only they could collect nuts."¹² But while for Muniz these demands were "childish," in reality the maroon-descendants' agenda was based on two elements of long standing: on one hand, flexible commercial deals with Brazil nut merchants (which meant that the *castanhais* were not exactly "free," but rather, subjected to non-coercive commercial networks), and on the other hand, patron-client relations with powerful patrons from Alenquer. The collection of marketable forest goods started in Pacoval during the 1870s, perhaps before. In 1881 Luiz de Oliveira Martins, the Alenquer merchant who had led the *mocambeiros* to surrender to the local police, listed no fewer than nine maroons as debtors of his commercial house, which exported mainly Brazil nuts.¹³ One of them, Manoel dos Santos, had also been a debtor of Cândido José Simões in the Cuipeua *igarapé* three years before.¹⁴ In 1887, another nine *mocambeiros* had commercial relations with Manoel Pinto Monteiro, who had a trade store near Pacoval.¹⁵ However, while ties between the Pacovalenses and Alenquer commercial houses gradually thickened, in the early 1900s the degree of coercion that commercial companies could

¹¹ Funes, "Nasci nas Matas", 227-28; José Ubaldo de Oliveira Reis personal collection (JRPC), Interview with Aureliano de Sousa Castro (born in 1903) by José Ubaldo de Oliveira Reis, Alenquer, August 7, 1992; Law 751 from February 25, 1901, in Fundação Cultural Tancredo Neves (FCTN) – "Congresso do Estado: Senado," *Folha do Norte* 9522, September 23, 1921.

¹² Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alenquer*, 46.

¹³ Funes, "Nasci nas Matas", 231. The reference is Cartório do 2º Ofício, Luiz de Oliveira Martins PMI, 1881.

¹⁴ Cartório do 2º Ofício ("Toninho"), Alenquer, henceforth C2A, Candido José Simões PMI, 1873, p.5.

¹⁵ Funes, "Nasci nas Matas", 231-32. C2A, Manoel Pinto Monteiro PMI, 1887; Also Idaliana Marinho de Azevedo, *Puxirum: Memória dos Negros do Oeste Paraense* (Belém: Instituto de Artes do Pará, 2002), 30.

exert still remained limited: large trading companies and free commercial agents coexisted in the same *castanhais*. None could, at this point, impose its superiority over the others – a situation that would change in the 1920s, as we shall see.

But the *mocambeiros*' freedom rested on another basis: patron-client ties. A challenging and elusive subject of study, the significance of these relations both for the maroon-descendants and for the patrons who sponsored them emerges when we analyze some cases. Luiz de Oliveira Martins, for example, was a slave-owner cacao planter, livestock rancher, and Brazil nut exporter during the 1870s. According to Palma Muniz, Martins was also the first explorer of the Curuá river, a fact likely related to his pioneering purchase of Brazil nuts from the Pacovalenses at a time when trading with them was still illegal and actively persecuted by the authorities.¹⁶ In 1876, while serving as police agent in Alenquer, he convinced 135 Pacovalenses to turn themselves in with the promise of freedom. Such a promise was no doubt a powerful reward, but his influence over the *mocambeiros* may have been equally powerful: in the present it is remembered how he “financed” the maroons, and how he baptized many. José Valente, former mayor of Alenquer in the early 1960s, recalled how “when they [the maroons] ran away from Santarém (...) it was my grandfather Geraldo and Major Martins (...) who gave shelter to the blacks; he provided food and ammunition so that they could hide from [their master] Maria Macambira.”¹⁷ Martins may have sheltered the slaves in order to employ them as workers, a strategy not unheard of by all accounts.¹⁸ In 1901 the leader of the town was named Manoel

¹⁶ Funes, “Nasci nas Matas”, 231; Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 19. Áurea Nina, “Loanda, Sua História, Sua Luta...,” Unpubl. BA Paper. Santarém: UFPA, 1993, 14. JRPC, Interview with Aureliano de Sousa Castro by José Ubaldo Oliveira Reis, Alenquer, August 7, 1992 (Castro was born in 1903).

¹⁷ Áurea Nina Personal Archive (ANPA), Interview with José Rafael Valente, Alenquer, 1992, (born 1912).

¹⁸ See for example Cartório Raiol-Sociedade 5 de Agosto, Vigia (5A-CR) Justiça Pública v. José Justiniano da Silva, 1868; 5A-CR, Petição de Carta de Liberdade de Maria Justina, Escrava de Joaquim José Pereira, 1882; and João José Reis, “Escravos e Coiteiros no Quilombo do Oitizeiro: Bahia, 1806,” in *Liberdade Por um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil*, ed João José Reis and Flavio Gomes (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996): 332-372.

Rodrigues de Oliveira Martins (aka Alexandre), and in previous years there had been in Pacoval a Manoel de Oliveira Martins, a Luiz de Jesus Martins, a Manoel de Jesus Martins, and many other Martins.¹⁹ His relation with the Pacovalenses was more than simply commercial.

Another example of a Pacoval patron was Fulgêncio Simões, a lawyer and politician in turn-of-the-century Alenquer. Simões, whose father controlled the town council for almost 30 years until 1882, became Alenquer's mayor when the Republic was proclaimed in 1891, ascended shortly thereafter to the presidency of Goiás, and held numerous state offices in subsequent years.²⁰ In 1901, he elevated Pacoval to the condition of *povoação* or hamlet, which implied official recognition of the town.²¹ In 1921 Simões proposed in the Senate of Pará that the lands of Pacoval be surveyed and given to the families living there. Simões argued that in order to prevent his fellow countrymen from falling victim to the "deplorable maneuvers" of a Portuguese merchant (he did not specify names), it was necessary "to grant them [the Pacovalenses] the *posse* of the lands they inhabit, thus guaranteeing their future."²² What he obtained from these actions is unknown. It could hardly consist of votes, for most Pacovalenses were illiterate. Instead, it could have consisted of labor services, given that Simões's father had economic relations with Luiz de Oliveira Martins.²³

¹⁹ Otille Coudreau, *Voyage au Rio Curuá: 20 Novembre 1900-7 Mars 1901* (Paris: Lahure, 1900), 22-23; Funes, "Nasci nas Matas," 301-302, 305.

²⁰ He was Pará's state attorney, legal advisor of the State Bureau of Public Lands, and attorney of the State Treasury. FCTN, "Quem Foi Fugêncio Simões," *O Surubiú*, Alenquer, August 26, 1999, and Ilka Cabral's Personal Archive, "Dr. Fulgencio Simoes," *Alenquerense: Folha Mensal* 13, August 30, 1942, 1. Thanks to Ms. Cabral for these documents.

²¹ Law 751 from February 25, 1901. FCTN, "Congresso do Estado: Senado," *Folha do Norte* 9522, September 23, 1921. Apparently the proposal did not prosper. The *Diário Oficial do Estado do Pará* did not list it, and nobody in Pacoval knew anything about it.

²² FCTN, "Congresso do Estado: Senado," *Folha do Norte* 9522, September 23, 1921.

²³ Simões father owed about 1.5 contos to Martins. He left in his Post-Mortem Inventory numerous cedar planks, indicating a possible engagement in wood trade, C2A, Antônio Firmino Simões PMI (henceforth PMI), 1893, pp. 7-8, 13-14.

The maroon-descendants, on the other hand, saw themselves empowered by this relation. When in 1901 French explorer Otille Coudreau visited Pacoval while exploring the Curuá river, she was surprised by how local leader Alexandre treated her. Accustomed to treat the *mocambeiros* of the Lower Amazon with a scornful demeanor, Coudreau noticed how Alexandre made it clear from the beginning that “I am the governor of Pacoval. I am the government’s representative.” He continued to explain that “it is not very clean here yet, but I will install streets because so far I have not had time to do it. The government needed me to build a road from Alenquer to here, and I am almost done. (...) They say that the government sent you. Is that right? I do not think so,” he added. “If it were, the government would have let me know.”²⁴ Alexandre was not being arrogant, as Otille Coudreau contended. Instead, he felt entitled to present himself as a legitimate representative of the state, reversing maroon-descendants’ traditional fear and mistrust of the government in the years after abolition.²⁵ Moreover, the elevation of Pacoval to the condition of *povoação* was probably interpreted by Alexandre and others as an affirmation of their right to the lands of the Curuá: “the land is ours and we are free to do all that we want, we do not accept that anybody comes here to make the law,” another *mocambeiro* stated.²⁶ Institutional rewards, social prestige for its leaders, and empowerment vis-à-vis visitors from the outside world: some locals embraced the fruits of patronage and reworked them according to their own ambitions.

²⁴ Coudreau, *Voyage au Rio Curuá*, 22-23.

²⁵ JRPC, Interview with Everaldo Antonio de Jesus (born 1923) by José Ubaldio Oliveira Reis, Alenquer, July 7, 1992; Interview with Raimundo Francisco Cardoso (born 1907) by José Ubaldio Oliveira Reis, Alenquer, July 28, 1992. See also Chapter 6.

²⁶ Coudreau, *Voyage au Rio Curuá*, 19. This narrative overlapped with another one arguing that the lands of Pacoval were granted by Brazilian Emperor Dom Pedro II as a *sesmaria* or royal land grant. *Sesmarias* were abolished in the 1820s, but here the Pacovalenses are mixing elements from their 1877 forced journey to Belém, when one of them was liberated by the Emperor. De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 30.

However, by 1921 new forces entered the Curuá. The Ferreira brothers (José Antônio and Antônio Alves), the Magalhães brothers (Milton and Gumercendo), and Portuguese merchant Francisco dos Santos Amaral, all sought to become patrons by buying the Pacovalenses' Brazil nuts, baptizing local children, and participating in symbolic rituals like the samba dance celebrated during Muniz' visit.²⁷ They also declared publicly that they had a genuine concern for poor peasants and nut workers. In July 1921, Amaral published a letter in the *Folha do Norte* newspaper warning those in favor of land privatization that "your insistence on taking forcefully what belongs to the people could have bad results (...) We feel very happy to be on the side of the weak and the oppressed."²⁸ However, the commission's investigation showed that this concern was not so genuine. Rather, the merchants who participated in the anti-privatization faction employed maroon-descendants as *castanheiros*, advancing goods in return for the Brazil nuts they collected. These merchants had already established their own commercial networks without the need of land privatization – hence the reason why they supported the Pacovalenses in their struggle to stop it.²⁹

7.2 ETHNICITY, LAND, AND POWER

Italian-born merchant Antônio Vallinoto, fellow Italian Sábato Megale and a handful of local politicians formed the faction pursuing the privatization of the *castanhais* in 1921. Vallinoto,

²⁷ Interview with Dona Piquixita, Maria José Monteiro, Pacoval, 22 de Abril de 2009 (born 1915), in whose wedding Milton Magalhães was a witness; Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 17. See also De Azevedo, *Puxirum*, 44.

²⁸ FCTN, "Castanhaes de Alemquer," *A Folha do Norte*, July 12, 1921.

²⁹ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 33, 40, 41.

who came to Alenquer from San Constantino de Rivello (central-northern Italy) around 1900, was expanding the landholdings of his commercial firm, acquired in 1910.³⁰ He epitomized a number of nut merchants emerging in the 1920s: of Portuguese and Italian origin, they often started their economic activities in sectors other than the Brazil nut trade. Portuguese immigrant Joaquim Tavares de Souza, for example, abandoned Portugal in 1893 to join his brother Custódio one year later at the livestock ranch that the latter had at the head of the Cuipéua *igarapé*.³¹ In 1899 Joaquim purchased São Pedro, his own property in the Canacupá *igarapé*, a 625-hectare property with a house, cattle, horses, and Brazil nut groves.³² By then he was already engaged in the Brazil nut trade,³³ and over the years, he became a very active trader in the Curuá region, opening a store in Pacoval.³⁴ Integrating ranching with the rising Brazil nut trade and its associated activities (river transportation, *aviamento*, banking), a tightly woven mercantile community emerged: they built their companies, invested together, borrowed from each other, and cemented those alliance by inter-family marriages.

In 1909, for example, Portuguese traders Alípio Fernandes da Silva and Manoel Fernandes Nunes, along with naturalized Brazilian citizen Antonio Monteiro Nunes, formed a commercial firm worth 46 contos and named Silva Nunes e Cia. The company expanded further in 1918 with the entry of Portuguese rancher and merchant Custódio Tavares de Souza – Antônio

³⁰ Ermenegildo Aliprandi and Virginio Martini, *Gli Italiani del Nord del Brasile: Rassegna delle Vite e delle Opere della Stirpe Italica Negli Stati del Nord Brasiliano* (Belem: Typ. da Livraria Gillet, 1932), unnumbered page. Olinda Vallinoto, “Recordando Minhas Raízes,” mimeo; Interview with Olinda Vallinoto, Alenquer, April 20, 2009 (born c.1916).

³¹ Joaquim Tavares de Souza’s Personal Diary (1893-1897), pp. 5 and 6 (undated, c.1894). Diary provided by Cleinilze Sousa e Silva, Alenquer, April 27, 2009. Thanks to her for this invaluable document. Carícia de Sousa e Silva, “Um Pouco de Nossa História: Avô Materno,” mimeo provided by Carícia, April 2009.

³² São Pedro *posse* deed, 1899, ITERPA, Autos de Medição e Discriminação, Joaquim Tavares de Souza e Esposa, 1911.

³³ His diary lists what look like *aviamento* transactions from at least 1897, JTS Personal Diary, unpagged.

³⁴ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 40, 46.

Vallinoto was legal witness in this operation.³⁵ Five years later, in 1923, Vallinoto himself joined Sábato Megale to form another commercial house with capital of 136 contos.³⁶ Commercial ties were strengthened through kinship bonds: Lília de Sousa e Silva, Joaquim Tavares de Souza's daughter, married Alípio Fernandes da Silva's son Lauro in 1930, and another of Tavares de Souza's nieces, Carícia, married Antonio Vallinoto's son Humberto shortly afterwards. One of Alípio's granddaughters, Maria das Dores, married Humberto Cioffi, grandson of Italian druggist Domingos Cioffi.³⁷ Relatives from Portugal and Italy were also brought to Alenquer: following Joaquim Tavares de Souza's arrival in the town, for example, he invited his nephews Hermínio, Ramiro, Armando, and Hermínio Figueiredo, to join him. During the following decade, Italian Brazil nut exporters often requested legal permission to invite relatives to come to Alenquer and other towns in the Lower Amazon.³⁸ As one of Tavares de Souza's granddaughters recounted, "the Portuguese brought many of their nephews here, he [De Souza] invited many of them."³⁹

This does not mean, however, that the Italian and Portuguese community was a closed one. Rather, its members established ties with local families in order to gain influence in local politics and increase their pool of resources. Such bonds could be based on business, as was the case of the commercial partnership between Theodósio Bentes Valente, of the Alenquerense Bentes family, and Antonio Vallinoto, at Praia Grande.⁴⁰ But they could also consist of kinship

³⁵ Two contracts of constitution of commercial companies from ITERPA, Autos de Medição, Fernandes Nunes e Companhia, 1933.

³⁶ "Escriptura de dissolução da sociedade commercial (...) A. Vallinoto e Cia., pelos socios componentes senhores Antonio Vallinoto e Sabato Megale," May 10, 1938, in ITERPA, Martinica Property, Vallinoto e Cia., 1920.

³⁷ Vallinoto, "Recordando Minhas Raízes," mimeo; Carícia de Sousa e Silva, "Um Pouco de Nossa História: Avô Materno," mimeo; "Dados da Senhora Lília de Sousa e Silva," mimeo. All documents provided by Olinda Vallinoto and Carícia de Sousa e Silva, April 2009.

³⁸ For example APEP, Fundo Secretaria de Segurança Pública, Caixa 528, Chefatura de Polícia, Petições, Janeiro-Março de 1933, João Miléo Primo to State Police Chief, March 3, 1933; see adjacent years.

³⁹ Interview with Cleinilze Souza Silva (Joaquim Tavares de Souza's granddaughter), Santarém, April 27, 2009 (born 1954). See also Marília Emmi, *Italianos na Amazônia (1870-1950): Pioneirismo Econômico e Identidade* (Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2008).

⁴⁰ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 35.

ties: Joaquim Tavares de Sousa's daughter Emília de Sousa e Silva married Emanuel Bentes Monteiro, from the same family as Theodósio, and Alípio Fernandes da Silva's daughter Maria Glória married Francisco Bentes Monteiro, future mayor of Alenquer between 1935 and 1938.⁴¹ Maria Glória's husband's political success also reflects how over the years Italian- and Portuguese-born merchants became part of the political elite: by the 1930s Sabato Megale, Antonio Monteiro Nunes, and Joaquim Tavares de Souza had become naturalized Brazilians and had then managed to be elected or appointed by the state government to the Alenquer city council.⁴² While ethnic lines often shaped class conflict during the rise of the Brazil nut trade in the 1930s and 1940s, as will be shown, evolving alliances between locals and European immigrants would eventually blur these lines to a considerable extent.

Back to 1921, when Antonio Vallinoto, Joaquim Tavares de Souza, João Miléo and others, set out to buy a number of *castanhais*, for two reasons. First, to exclude other merchants and commercial houses from exporting Curuá nuts. And second, to control the land, which as we saw in the former chapter, conferred also power over labor. Before 1920, when Praia Grande was a "free" field, a variety of productive relations and commercial agents existed in the grove. Nuts were purchased through independent *aviadores*, through *aviadores* paid by commercial houses, and from autonomous nut gatherers. Commercial houses in that *castanhal* included Santos Amaral & Co., A. Vallinoto & Co., Levy Dahan & Co., José da Costa Homem and Fernandes Nunes & Co, and J. Nunes & Co.; Fortunato Garçon, Aureliano Imbiriba, and José Antonio Ferreira also worked there as independent buyers.⁴³ Some collectors resided in Praia Grande during the harvest (January to May); these included Mariano José Rodrigues, who worked for the

⁴¹ Vallinoto and De Sousa e Silva, "Um Pouco de Nossa História," "Nosso Avô Paterno."

⁴² APEP, *Funcionários Municipais 1930-1938*, years 1932, 1934, 1935.

⁴³ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 39-40.

Ferreiras; Antonio Ferreira, who worked for Francisco Mileo; and the collectors Elias Alves and Domingos Garcia, who sold nuts to both Mileo and Ferreira. Simplício dos Santos and Adelino Ferreira Baptista, from Pacoval, also worked for more than one commercial house.⁴⁴ Overall, there were 15 huts of *castanheiros* from Pacoval, nearby cities, and northeastern Brazil, perhaps 10 of whom had become stable full-time residents. These “have small manioc and sugar cane plots[;] an area of more than two square kilometers can be observed at the rear of the hamlet where all these improvements are located.”⁴⁵

The fact that the *castanhal* was not owned by a single merchant helped the nut workers avoid absolute subjection: they could choose whether or not to live there with their families and cultivate manioc, producing their own food and avoiding dependence on the merchants’ stores. In addition, by having relations with more than one commercial house, the *castanheiros* could bargain for better prices for their nuts. In sum, as long as the *castanhais* remained “free,” merchants would face important constraints over their capacity to rip profits from the nut workers. While free land heightened the peasants’ bargaining power, it simultaneously diminished the merchants’ benefits. From the latter’s standpoint, then, it was necessary to bring the workers’ freedom to an end.

⁴⁴ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 41-44.

⁴⁵ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 43.

7.3 INSTITUTING PRIVATE PROPERTY IN THE CASTANHAIS

During his visit to Alenquer, João de Palma Muniz developed a very critical attitude towards the anti-privatization coalition. Upon arrival, Francisco dos Santos Amaral's warning that the expedition should not go forward, his zeal in preventing the commission from carrying firearms, and his advice to leave the surveying equipment in Alenquer, all made it "evident" for Muniz that Amaral's intention was "to impede any professional work that could provide clear information to the state government."⁴⁶ Later on, Amaral "tried to instigate the blacks against [their] supposed enemies, making them sympathetic toward his business interests."⁴⁷ Whenever the Pacovalenses attempted to meet Muniz, he always suspected that they were following Amaral's orders.⁴⁸ Because they were poor, black, and lived in the countryside, Muniz held a paternalist perspective over the maroon-descendants, considering them unable to formulate their own goals and interests. Instead, Muniz saw the Pacovalenses as being "under the orders" of the anti-privatization merchants.⁴⁹

Delivered to the state government in February, 1922, the commission's recommendation was to go ahead with the privatization of the Curuá lands. In other words, Muniz backed Vallinoto's acquisition of *Praia Grande*. Auctioning the Curuá lands, the report argued, would concentrate land tenure in the hands of wealthy landowners. Surveying, dividing, and selling smaller lots would incur expenses too high for the state government. Given that no documentary proof had been presented showing that the requested *castanhais* were on private land, the

⁴⁶ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 12.

⁴⁷ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 47.

⁴⁸ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 15-16, 46-47.

⁴⁹ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 28.

privatization process could, and should, continue. A fourth alternative was to keep the groves public, but according to Muniz this possibility would cause grave problems. “Under the false premise of *protecting the poor*,” he explained, the only thing achieved by keeping the *castanhais* public (as in fact had been government policy between 1891 and 1910) was “to guarantee the invasion of adventurers ... who have profited from the work and sweat of the poor ... without investing any capital in the lands they [the merchants] have exploited.”⁵⁰

This argument was a cornerstone of Paraense policymakers’ discourse on colonization and economic development. While colonial and later national governments always had the dream of creating an agricultural economy in Amazonia, the collection of forest products was often seen as unstable, unsafe, and conducive to class exploitation and ecological devastation.⁵¹ True, at the height of the rubber boom, when huge revenues were flowing to the state government, rubber was seen as the hen that laid the golden eggs, and critiques of the extractive economy receded for a while. However, in 1913 the price of Amazonian rubber collapsed, causing a tremendous economic shock: while in that year the state government’s revenue reached an astonishing 43,000 *contos de réis*, by 1921 it dropped to 4,223 *contos*, a decline of more than 90 percent.⁵² As the rubber boom collapsed, criticisms of extractive activities re-gained strength: instead of roaming the forests in search of easy money, it was argued, Paraense peasants should cultivate the land, which would eventually contribute to the stability and prosperity of the region. Failure to promote the stable cultivation of rubber is what had thrown Amazonia into misery – this was the lesson to be learned, and land policy would be designed accordingly.

⁵⁰ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 57.

⁵¹ Rafael Chambouleyron, *Povoamento, Ocupação e Agricultura na Amazônia Colonial (1640-1706)* (Belém: Açaí, 2010); Francisco de Assis Costa, *Ecologismo e Questão Agrária na Amazônia*, Estudos Sepeq (Belém: Núcleo de Altos Estudos Amazônicos, 1992), 3-9. See also sections 2.1 and 2.2 on Chapter 2.

⁵² Barbara Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom: 1850-1920* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983), 340.

Thus in 1920 Governor Lauro Sodré formulated again the pre-rubber era argument that “the hands absorbed by the collection of latex certainly deprived agriculture of its indispensable instruments to live,” that is, labor.⁵³ A state governor in the 1890s, Sodré was back in power after unsuccessfully running for the national presidency in 1898. He was now the most respected of the first-generation Republican politicians in Pará, and his critique of the extractive economy was shared by most Republican policymakers. In 1925 state President Dionysio Bentes rebuked the collection of forest goods: “one of the causes of our belated economic development is the people’s interests ... they do not take root [in the land] thanks to the trees they plant, but instead by their desire for easy money.” In so doing they became “nomadic masses ... living in improvised huts or without shelter, inadequately fed, malnourished, in unsanitary conditions, and almost always stricken by serious diseases that decimate them.”⁵⁴

The collection of forest goods was not only detrimental to agriculture and to people: harvesting goods from the forest could lead to its destruction. This was very clear in the case of lumber but applied as well to the rubber tree, whose trunk had to be deeply cut in order to drain the rubber, eventually killing it, and to the Brazil nut tree, which eventually ceased producing nuts if surrounding vegetation was cleared.⁵⁵ A fellow Republican from Sodré’s generation, Henrique Santa Rosa was the director of the State Land Bureau for most of the First Republic.⁵⁶

⁵³ Pará, *Mensagem Dirigida Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado do Pará em Sessão Solemne de Abertura da 3ª Reunião de Sua 10ª Legislatura a 7 de Setembro de 1920 pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Lauro Sodré* (Belém: Typographia da Imprensa Oficial do Estado 1920), 80. On Sodré, see Emmanuel Sodré, *Lauro Sodré na História da República* (Rio de Janeiro: Edição do Autor, 1970).

⁵⁴ Pará, *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado em Sessão Solemne de Abertura da 2ª Reunião de Sua 12ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1925, pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Dionysio Ausier Bentes* (Belém: Oficinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1925), 14-15.

⁵⁵ The *Bertolletias* stop producing when cleared of vegetation because different types of bees need to pollinize its flowers in order to produce the seeds (which become the “nuts”). Scott A. Mori and Ghillen T. Prance, “Taxonomy, Ecology, and Economic Botany of the Brazil Nut (*Bertholletia Excelsa* Humb. & Bonpl.: Lecythidaceae),” *Advances in Economic Botany* 8 (1990): 138-141.

⁵⁶ Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom*, 106-07.

He shared Lauro's concern with promoting stable, orderly occupation of the land, stressing the idea that spontaneous settlement destroyed natural resources. "The exploitation of products through free invasion [of the forest] is not only negligent but also destroys invaded areas and occupies them with no permanent settlement." "The invaders and destroyers of the forest are those who do not want to subject themselves to the rule of the law," Santa Rosa wrote in a section of the 1925 governor's report to the legislature. "They seek the greatest gain with the least investment, paying the local workers miserably."⁵⁷

But while "disinterest" and "nomadic habits" characterized extractivism, "the same is not observed in lands acquired through a property deed, which makes the deed holder feel attached to the lands from which he benefits." For Santa Rosa, the holder of a definitive title considered land "an ingredient of his prosperity, improving it, making it produce, defending its limits, and enlarging it."⁵⁸ The argument that granting land deeds was conducive to an improvement in economic activities *per se* sounds somewhat naïve,⁵⁹ but it was in tune with the influence of positivism over first-generation Republican politicians in Brazil.⁶⁰ Muniz, who shared Sodré and Santa Rosa's political background, also expressed in the Alenquer report his belief that the

⁵⁷ Quotations from Henrique Santa Rosa, "Regimen de Terras do Estado," in Pará, *Mensagem ... 1925*, 107, 109. Exactly the same position is defended in S. Torres Videla, "A Desobstrução dos Cursos d'Água," *Folha do Norte*, January 1, 1925. See also Pará, *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado, em Sessão Solenne de Abertura da 1ª Reunião de Sua 13ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1927, pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Dionysio Ausier Bentes* (Belém: Oficinas Graphics do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1927), 108.

⁵⁸ Santa Rosa, "Regimen de Terras," Pará, *Mensagem ... 1925*, 107.

⁵⁹ This argument is reformulated time and again. See for example Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else* (New York: Basic Books, 2000). A solid refutation may be found in Christian Brannstrom, "Producing Possession: Labour, Law and Land on a Brazilian Agricultural Frontier, 1920-1945," *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 863.

⁶⁰ On late nineteenth-century positivism see Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, Pedro Moacyr Campos, and Boris Fausto, *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, 8th ed., vol. 7, *Do Império à República* (São Paulo: Bertrand Brasil, 2006), 335-54; Maria Efigênia Lage de Resende, "O Processo Político na Primeira República e o Liberalismo Oligárquico," in *O Brasil Republicano*, ed. Jorge Luiz Ferreira and Lucília de Almeida Neves Delgado (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003), 105-06. Sodré himself had studied in the late 1870s at the military academy of Praia Vermelha, a nest of positivist thought. Sodré, *Lauro Sodré*, 15-17.

“institution of property in the *castanhais*” would allow the state government to achieve the “progress and growth of its population” and to “defend its riches and its economic sources.”⁶¹

On the other hand, Paraense policymakers like Muniz, Sodré, and Santa Rosa displayed an attitude towards social problems that coincides almost completely with nineteenth-century Brazilian liberalism.⁶² “Essentially conservative,” and inspired by the works of Herbert Spencer and Benjamin Constant, Brazilian liberals largely ignored social conflicts and adhered to the defense of individual rights beyond almost any other consideration, often ostracizing popular groups from political representation.⁶³ Muniz expressed this perspective very well when he defined the role of state institutions in promoting development: while, as we saw, regularizing land tenure was fundamental to encourage economic growth, on the other hand the state’s role should consist exclusively of aiding private entrepreneurs. “Private initiative contributes greatly to put our lands to work, investigating their riches and complementing governmental action, which, in turn, will always try to resolve the problems of transportation infrastructure.”⁶⁴ In other words, the state’s role should be limited to developing transport, “terrestrial, fluvial, or maritime,” or to facilitating economic entrepreneurship, but nothing else – a nineteenth-century Liberal tenet. Muniz considered that the maintenance of Brazil nut lands as public patrimony between 1891 and 1910 (when the regulations concerning the sale of *castanhais* were passed) had been entirely negative, promoting the reckless exploitation of natural resources, discouraging stable settlement and economic activity, and leaving the state’s coffers empty. From his

⁶¹ Muniz, *Castanhaes de Alemquer*, 57.

⁶² Brazilian Republicans often came from the ranks of the Liberal party: De Holanda, Campos, and Fausto, *Histórial Geral ...* vol. 7, 301-305.

⁶³ The expression is from De Resende, “O Processo Político,” 99. See also John Gray, *El Liberalismo* (Madrid: Alianza, 2002), 56 and Frank Safford, “Politics, Ideology, and Society in Post-Independence Spanish America,” in Leslie Bethell, ed, *Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 3 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 347-421.

⁶⁴ Muniz, ed., *Indice Geral dos Registros de Terras*, xx.

standpoint, poor peasants' and nut workers' problems were to be solved either through charity, by reserving small patches of public land for common use, or through police intervention.

Not all those who participated in politics shared the same contempt for social problems, however. Occasionally, some voices were raised in the press or in the state legislature calling for the protection of this or that individual from a reckless landowner, or requesting a land grant for some peasants.⁶⁵ Rural dwellers also expected local courts to back land claims if the peasants could prove protracted residence and work in a given plot, as shown in Chapter 5.0 . However, when peasants or extractive workers collectively revolted to protest an excessive degree of exploitation, the state administration would respond with outright repression, according to its policymakers' defense of legally sanctioned property.

7.4 "A PEOPLE ZEALOUS OF ITS RIGHTS"

Explosions of popular unrest in the Lower Amazon and in other Paraense regions like the Lower Tocantins punctuated the privatization of land containing Brazil nuts. While the strategies of domination employed by merchants sought to diminish the tensions inherent to the process, sometimes nut collectors felt too oppressed and took justice in their hands. In January 1917

⁶⁵ Some examples, all from FCTN, *A Província do Pará*: "Os sucessos de Soure," July 12, 1921; "A Confederação de Pescadores ao Público," July 13, 1921; "Política de Soure: O Novo Prefeito," July 27, 1921; "Violencia Inaudita," August 2, 1921; "Violencia Inaudita," August 3, 1921; "O Caso da Ilha das Onças," August 4, 1921; "Ainda o caso da Ilha das Onças," August 9, 1921; "O Caso da Ilha das Onças," August 14, 1921; "Terras de Marabá: O Governo manda Suspender a Demarcação de 25,000 hectares," *Folha do Norte*, November 14, 1925; "Ainda o caso do Jary," February 24, 1929; "Tocantins, terra de infelizes," March 19, 1929; Antonio Borges, *Negociatas Escandalosas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1938).

Óbidos mayor Francisco Bentes Monteiro requested that the state government intervene in a boundary dispute with the county of Alenquer. The contested area was Igarapé-Assu, a small hamlet with abundant Brazil nuts that both *municípios* claimed for themselves. Monteiro explained that “one of the owners of the *castanhais* has been coerced by Alenquer police agents ... to the point of prohibiting that he cultivate Brazil nut trees on his lands.”⁶⁶ However, Alenquer mayor Graciliano Negreiros told a substantially different story. In early March 1917 he contacted Monteiro to request that Italian merchant João Miléo be prevented from sending an armed force to the *castanhais* of the hamlet of Igarapé-Assu.⁶⁷ “The people revolted against him,” the Alenquer mayor explained, “because Miléo tried to prohibit the locals from gathering Brazil nuts from the *castanhais*, which are public.” Rather than being coerced by the Alenquer police, Miléo himself had evicted the local nut collectors to take over the lands he had purchased “through a land request published in the *Diário Oficial do Estado*.” Facing the collectors’ revolt, Miléo left for Óbidos, where he resided and had a commercial store, threatening to return with an armed force.⁶⁸

The coordinated actions of the two mayors prevented Miléo’s threatened use of force. The Italian merchant was allowed to continue his commercial activities in Igarapé-Assu, and Negreiros and Monteiro agreed to resolve the boundary dispute peacefully.⁶⁹ But while this conflict had a limited impact, it epitomized the multiple conflicts caused by the privatization of Brazil nut lands that took place in the 1920s. The spark igniting popular protest was a merchant’s acquisition of a *castanhal* that previously had been used without restrictions by the locals, who

⁶⁶ Negreiros is probably referring to the collection, not the planting, of Brazil nuts. In the following paragraph he clarifies that in the upcoming nut harvest the abuses should not be repeated. AMO, Avulsos, Graciliano Negreiros to State Governor, January 5, 1917.

⁶⁷ AMO, Avulsos, Intendencia Municipal de Alemquer to Óbidos mayor, March 14, 1917; 3 undated telegrams, c. early March (they were referred to in the letter from March 14).

⁶⁸ AMO, Avulsos, Intendencia Municipal de Alemquer to Óbidos mayor, March 17, 1917.

⁶⁹ AMO, Avulsos, Intendencia Municipal ..., March 17, 1917.

apparently had not been notified of the purchase. Mayor Negreiros from Alenquer also warned his Óbidos counterpart that “as a measure of prudence” they should meet to discuss county boundaries, but not in Igarapé-Assu. The protesters’ outrage “has not receded yet,” he explained, because “this is a people zealous of its rights.”⁷⁰

It is also relevant that Miléo was Italian: although this fact was not raised publicly in the 1917 incident, anti-privatization protests often involved xenophobic slurs. The gradual expansion of commercial houses owned by Italian and Portuguese immigrants that we have seen in Alenquer was also taking place in Óbidos. In 1918, for example, Vicente Sarubbi, João Ferrari, Carlos Alaggio, Bras Calderaro, Vicente Felizzola, Antônio Calderaro, Honorato Calderaro, José Florenzano, Miguel Calderaro, Luiz Manfredi, Braz Miléo, João Miléo, all had commercial firms in Óbidos.⁷¹ It was actually difficult to find an Italian family without a member working as a merchant. Local politicians tried to exploit the clustering of Italians in the *aviamento* sector by claiming that there was a “plan to completely eliminate Brazilians from the profits generated by Brazil nuts.”⁷² Nut collectors directed their protests against this ethnic community too.

Six years later, in 1923, Miléo had to request help from the Óbidos city council: groups of workers were deliberately “disrespecting his *castanhais*” by gathering nuts from them.⁷³ In Juruty, a *município* adjacent to Óbidos, the local police chief complained to the state government in the same year that there existed “a group of bandits that brutally robbed the Italians in this village and three [commercial] houses in the interior (...) and because they are always acquitted by the authorities in Óbidos, many say that they can rob and do anything and it won’t be a

⁷⁰ AMO, Avulsos, Intendencia Municipal ..., March 17, 1917.

⁷¹ AMO, Lançamento do imposto de industria e profissão, 1916; Lançamento do imposto de industria e profissão, 1918.

⁷² FCTN, Alcides Gentil, “Em Defesa dos Meus Contratantes,” *Folha do Norte*, September 25, 1921.

⁷³ AMO, Registro de Ofícios, 1920-1930, Óbidos Council to Fiscal Post in Igarapé-Assu, March 22, 1923.

crime.”⁷⁴ The Juruty police chief requested that his counterpart in Óbidos be replaced. It is unclear whether that happened, but the Óbidos “bandits” continued to operate.

In November 1925, the state government intervened: the Italian consul in Pernambuco, Antonio Luzardi, had contacted the governor of Pará to complain about the threats that some Italian citizens were receiving in Óbidos and Oriximiná. The immigrants explained that “anonymous leaflets” were circulating in Oriximiná “encouraging the people to revolt against us.” In addition, a Brazilian worker named Raymundo Marques explained how he was contacted by “five unknown men, black in color, armed with rifles,” who asked him “if he knew Braz Mileo and Braz Calderaro, both Italians.” They offered him money “to keep it secret and show them where the Italians’ shops were, [explaining] that in a few days, the attack on those shops would take place late at night to make those people, who should leave Brazil, definitively disappear.”⁷⁵ A few weeks later, in mid-December, Oriximiná police officer Antonio Machado Imberiba responded that while in Óbidos there had been some attacks, in Oriximiná the idea of assaulting Jewish and Italian merchants had been only a rumor promoted by the “anonymous leaflets distributed at the time.” Still, with the help of the Óbidos police he “took the firmest measures to suppress any disturbance of public order” by reinforcing the police presence and investigating the origins of the leaflets.⁷⁶ Ultimately no attacks took place in Oriximiná.

On September 5, 1925, a group of peasants from the local agricultural colony, encouraged by third parties, rose in arms with the intent, apparently, of attacking local authorities. The cause of the failed uprising was that the colonists ... do not

⁷⁴ APEP, FSP, Chefatura de Polícia, Ofícios Diversos, Fevereiro-Março 1923, Cx 349, Juruty Police Chief to State Police Chief, March 14, 1923.

⁷⁵ APEP, FSP, Ofícios Recibidos Dezembro 1925-Janeiro 1926, Cx 407, Deodoro Mendonça to State Chief of Police, November 30, 1925. The letter to the Italian consul was signed by Biagio Mileo, Biagio Calderaro, Vincenzo Sarubi, Biagio Sarubi, Nicola Mileo, Pasquale Sarubi, Nicola Ferrari, Giuseppe Mileo, Pellegrino Costabile, Pietro Oliva, Biagio Belle, Giuseppe Calderaro, Antonio Calderaro, Caino Antonio, and Guisepe Sarubbi.

⁷⁶ APEP, FSP, Ofícios Recibidos Dezembro 1925-Janeiro 1926, Cx 407, Antonio Machado Imberiba to State Chief of Police, December 16, 1925.

want to subject themselves to the owners of *castanhais* ... and to the repressive measures applied by the local treasury official ... seeking to avoid the devastation of the Brazil nut trees.⁷⁷

According to the Land Bureau, their intention was to “continue the criminal devastation that they had been practicing[,] and [that] harmed not only themselves but also the state and local economy.” Local police managed to fight off the attack, and “the criminal band retreated from the city’s outskirts.” The state government sent a commission to investigate the facts and capture the peasant rebels. Two and a half months later, state attorney Galdino Araujo and local justice Humberto Nobre were beaten and shot by a group of individuals, including some soldiers, when they were leaving home.⁷⁸ This time a larger commission was sent, accompanied by a military force of 50 individuals.⁷⁹

In 1927 Brazil nut gatherers revolted again. Public opinion was shocked by the murder of a store manager, Antonio Barroso Pereira, and his clerk, João Leite da Cunha.⁸⁰ The owner of the *castanhal* where the crime took place was Augusto Corrêa Pinto, the most notable Óbidos mayor during the First Republic.⁸¹ It all started with the arrival of surveyor João Henrique Diniz to the Paiol *castanhal*. Mayor Pinto had purchased the property the year before, but because only a *posse* deed existed, he requested to have it surveyed and demarcated to get the official land deed.

⁷⁷ FCTN – *Folha do Norte*, “O que Houve em Óbidos,” September 16, 1925.

⁷⁸ FCTN, *Folha do Norte*, “O que Houve em Óbidos: Telegrammas de Nosso Correspondente Especial,” November 26, 1925.

⁷⁹ FCTN, *Folha do Norte*, “As Ocorrências em Obidos,” November 27, 1925; “As Ocorrências em Obidos,” November 30, 1925.

⁸⁰ *Folha de Obidos*, “O Banditismo nos Castanhaes: Sant Rosa e Seus Sequazes Mattam Barbaramente!,” July 3, 1927, in Cartório Ferreira (CF), Autos de Apelação Crime (aka Caso Paiol).

⁸¹ Augusto Corrêa Pinto (1876-1934), Obidense lawyer, Congressman and Senator, and mayor of Óbidos for 12 years (1918-1930). He modernized the city by building several modern structures, like the municipal market, the slaughterhouse, and others. See <http://www.obidos.com.br> (accessed May 2011) and Ildefonso Guimarães, *Os Dias Recurvos* (Belém: Secretaria Estadual de Cultura?, 2003), 46-48. Corrêa Pinto was the mayor of Óbidos during the 1924 military revolt in Manaus, further increasing his public prestige. See Ricardo Borges, *O Pará Republicano, 1824-1929 : Ensaio Histórico* (Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1983), 358; Creso Coimbra, *O Pará na Revolução de 30: História, Análise Crítica e Reflexão* (Belém: Instituto de Cultura, 1981), 98-114; Guimarães, *Os Dias Recurvos*.

When civil engineer Diniz went to Paiol to inspect the area before surveying it, two individuals warned him that a man called Antônio Santa Rosa was preparing “criminal actions (...) inciting the Paiol residents to reject the demarcation of Brazil nut lands.”⁸² Santa Rosa did not appear that day, but the following morning he came to see Diniz. Things got out of control: Santa Rosa and his fellow worker Belmiro José Ferreira threatened manager Barroso with a knife, two workers helped the manager to subdue Santa Rosa and Ferreira, and a group of 15 to 20 armed individuals in turn came in help of Santa Rosa.⁸³ Barroso was shot and, according to most witnesses, finished off in cold blood by Santa Rosa; the clerk Leite was also shot, dying a few days later. Diniz escaped unharmed thanks to the nut workers, who convinced Santa Rosa not to kill him, but he was obliged to write a document declaring that “this conflict took place due to the haste of those carrying out the task in hand,” i.e., the survey.”⁸⁴

Some days later the police captured most of the rebels, except for Santa Rosa, who escaped to the forest.⁸⁵ They were tried for murder and acquitted by a local jury in late 1929, on the grounds that it could not be established which of the 14 defendants had shot Leite. Santa Rosa was convicted in absentia of murdering Barroso. The public attorney appealed, and by late 1932, when the file of the case ends, the accused were still in the local jail, awaiting trial in the state capital.⁸⁶

Finally, in 1929 another armed revolt impacted public opinion. On April 8, a group of between 200 and 250 armed men arrived in the town of Faro, on the border between the states of Pará and Amazonas. Composed of “long-time *posseiros* and landowners” from the Daquary

⁸² CF, Caso Paiol, p.41.

⁸³ CF, Caso Paiol, pp. 43-46, 49-51, 57-59.

⁸⁴ CF, Caso Paiol, p. 46.

⁸⁵ According to Obidense nun and cultural activist Idaliana Marinho de Azevedo, Santa Rosa was captured and murdered by a military expedition in the early 1930s. Personal communication, May 15, 2009. I was unable to verify this assertion.

⁸⁶ CF, Caso Paiol, pp. 495, 519.

igarapé, on the Nhamundá river, the group was bringing Syrian merchant Raphael Assayag to Faro

to obtain from him a public document renouncing all claims to the lands he had requested. They disembarked and went to the Faro public notary to make the document (...) the notary refused to do so (...) and suggested that it would be better to go see the authorities on Affonso de Carvalho island, because the Daquary lands were now under the jurisdiction of the state of Amazonas (...) however, they did not go, because Raphael finally gave them a private document with the desired content.⁸⁷

The police of the adjacent Amazonas county of Parintins prepared to resist the invasion they believed would ensue, but no such invasion took place. Instead, the group of armed men simply disbanded, “entering the forest with an unknown destination.” Both the Pará and the Amazonas governments thought that an armed confrontation between the security forces of the two states might be at stake, because of some recent disputes concerning state borders. In the end, both states sent special envoys, who documented the conflicts with the Brazil nut workers, and apparently no arrests were made. The conflict soon disappeared from public light, due probably to the overthrow of the Republic in 1930, which changed the political regime of the country.

Cases of collective protest in Baixo Amazonas in 1917, 1921, 1923, 1925, 1926, 1927, and 1929, during the most intense period of land privatization, show a number of patterns. First, in response to the arrival of new ethnic groups and their influence in the extractive economy, several of these revolts had a xenophobic tone. This is not surprising: for peasants, extractive workers, and even local merchants, it must have caused unease to see the rise of new ethnic groups employing harsh strategies of subjection, even if such strategies were also employed by

⁸⁷ Pará, *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Pará, em Sessão Solenne de Abertura da 3ª Reunião de Sua 13ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1929, pelo Governador do Estado, Dr. Eurico de Freitas Valle* (Belém: Oficinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1929), 100. Quotation in the former paragraph is from Pará, *Mensagem ... 1929*, 97.

Brazilian merchants. Alenquerense farmer Luiz Marques Baptista expressed this feeling very clearly in a letter to the mayor of Alenquer in 1935: “Born and raised in this county, I see with grief how my fellow citizens are gradually being evicted from their homes by a syndicate of foreigners, who, protected by their countrymen and provided with the necessary resources, are acquiring the *castanhais* in this county, evicting the nationals or subjecting them to a state of semi-slavery.”⁸⁸

Second, the idea that the *castanhais* were a public good, and that their purchase by private parties was unfair and even illegal, seems to have been deeply entrenched in popular culture. As Muniz reminded us, this belief was inscribed in law until 1910, when obstacles to buying Brazil nut lands were removed. However, this idea took different shapes and drew from different sources: among *mocambeiros* it was linked to longstanding traditions of trade as a guarantee of independence and better living standards; among local peasants, farmers and ranch workers, Brazil nuts were a complement to their diet and perhaps to their income, as they were for Indians; among former rubber tappers who saw themselves unemployed and penniless when rubber exports collapsed in 1913, Brazil nuts were perhaps the only way out of poverty. The defense of free collection also followed customary procedures: popular groups would petition the authorities before rising in arms, as in the 1929 Faro revolt; in 1925 the Trombetas *mocambeiros* had done the same, warning the authorities that Costa Lima’s actions could end in an “act of sudden violence.”⁸⁹ When the rising came, the target was often the land surveyor, the living embodiment of land privatization and of measurement systems alien to the extractors, as seen in the Paiol case, or in Alenquer in 1921.

⁸⁸ Luiz Marques Baptista to City Mayor, June 27, 1935, in ITERPA, Terras Adjuntas a Felinto, ?, Antônio Vallinoto.

⁸⁹ APEP, FSP, CP, Cx 409, Ofícios recebidos February 1925 – January 1926, Manoel Roberto de Azevedo Vasconcellos to the Óbidos Police Chief, December 28, 1925.

There is also a frequent and noticeable sense of betrayal in the motivations of the revolted. In the Paiol case, for example, one of the participants explained during the trial that they revolted because Augusto Corrêa Pinto had promised them prior to the demarcation visit that he “would not evict a single resident” and that he “wished all of them to stay.”⁹⁰ And in Faro, Assayag’s request to buy the Daquary lands had been made “unknown to the residents” and with “no public announcement at the local State Treasury.”⁹¹ It was barely legitimate to privatize land containing Brazil nuts, and a total violation to do it behind the occupants’ backs – an action that spurred protest.

Notions of proper relationships also affected relations between leaders of anti-privatization alliances, who were often merchants, and extractors. Loyalty between allies was sanctioned with fictive kinship ties, like Amaral’s and Ferreira’s godfathering in Pacoval. Santa Rosa also practiced popular medicine, being considered a *pajé* (shaman, medicine man) and exerting a “powerful influence over the inhabitants.” Parties and dances were often celebrated to seal these alliances, as happened after Santa Rosa and the other *castanheiros* had expelled Diniz from Paiol, or in Pacoval with the samba celebrated by Santos Amaral and the *mocambeiros*.⁹²

In sum, collective forms of resistance to the purchase of land stemmed from violations of an unspoken, customary moral economy of land tenure and land use. Partially based on a legal tradition, and directly connected to the daily economic practices of different groups, this moral economy established a set of rules of acceptable action and interaction, which did not include the alienation of *castanhais*.

⁹⁰ CF, Caso Paiol, p. 43.

⁹¹ Pará, *Mensagem ... 1929*, 99.

⁹² On Paiol, CF, Caso Paiol, p.57, quotation from p.327; dance on p.446. On Godfathering and the sponsoring of dances in Pacoval, see note 27.

However, the authorities who designed and implemented Paraense public policy during the Old Republic ignored systematically the moral economy of land tenure and land use in extractive areas. The agency of poor peasants was systematically denied; instead it was alleged, as in a 1926 report from the Alenquer police chief, that “behind our unhappy and ignorant fellow citizens, there continues to be the sordid ambition of foreign merchants, who ... apply the tactics practiced here by the famous Francisco dos Santos Amaral, encouraging them to revolt.”⁹³ The only solution, it seemed, was to send an armed force to repress the rebels. The idea of keeping the *castanhais* public was seen as “absurd” (*caricato*) and destructive of the natural riches of Pará.⁹⁴ Republican policymakers consistently either denied social conflicts or turned them into a matter for the police or for charity. Soon, however, new voices would be in charge.

7.5 “BARATISMO”: “VARGUISMO” IN PARÁ

In 1930 a new coalition of political forces took power in the federal capital of Rio de Janeiro. Led by provisional president Getúlio Vargas, the new government included both old and new social actors: members of the Republican political elite, especially from states marginalized by the rule of São Paulo and Minas Gerais; young nationalist army officers; reformist politicians from recently created political parties; and a growing urban middle class formed of artisans,

⁹³ APEP, FSP, CP, Cx 434, Ofícios recebidos October –November 1926, Alenquer Police Chief to State Police Chief, September 26, 1926.

⁹⁴ Pará, *Mensagem ... 1929*, 99.

clerks, and bureaucrats. Some sectors of labor also supported this Aliança Liberal. Given the heterogeneity of forces behind the Aliança, it did not have a clear-cut agenda, but some of the changes it proposed included political regeneration through a broadening of the suffrage and the eradication of the most obvious forms of corruption and clientage; the formation of a stronger national government; and alleviating the devastating social inequality that characterized Brazil.⁹⁵

In order to curb the power of state oligarchies and to gradually impose his new program, Vargas centralized political power and appointed “state interventors” to replace governors.⁹⁶ In Pará the individual chosen was Joaquim de Magalhães Cardoso Barata, a military officer born in Monte Alegre (Lower Amazon), who had participated in the unsuccessful 1924 coup against the Republican government in Manaus.⁹⁷ As soon as he assumed power on November 12, 1930, Barata applied a program of reforms based on the agenda of the Aliança Liberal. A new Liberal Party was formed with the participation of part of the old elite. Barata strengthened the control of the state government over municipal councils and implemented a series of social and economic reforms addressed to the poor. Labor legislation such as workplace compensation was enacted,

⁹⁵ The bibliography on the new regime is extensive; I have relied on Vânia Bambirra, “El Estado en Brasil: del Dominio Oligárquico a la Apertura Controlada,” in *El Estado en América Latina: Teoría y Práctica*, ed. Pablo González Casanova (México: Siglo XXI, 1990); Boris Fausto, *A Revolução de 1930: Historiografia e História* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982); Robert M. Levine, *Father of the Poor? Vargas and His Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Levine, *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934-1938* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Thomas Skidmore, *Brasil: De Getúlio a Castelo (1930-1964)* (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Saga, 1969).

⁹⁶ Levine, *Father of the Poor?*, 25-27, 43; Skidmore, *Brasil*, 55-62.

⁹⁷ On Barata and the 1930 Revolution in Pará see Coimbra, *O Pará na Revolução De 30*; Amélia Coutinho and Sérgio Flaksman, “Barata, Magalhães,” in *Dicionário Histórico-Biográfico Brasileiro: 1930-1983*, ed. Israel Beloch and Alzira Alves de Abreu (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Forense-Universitária / Fundação Getúlio Vargas / Financiadora de Estudos e Projetos, 1984); Pere Petit, *Chão de Promessas: Elites Políticas e Transformações Econômicas no Estado do Pará Pós-1964* (Belém: Paka-Tatu Ltda, 2003), 124-131; Carlos Rocque, *Magalhães Barata: O Homem, a Lenda, o Político*, vol. 1 (Belém: SECULT, 1999). I also found useful the webpage “Pará Histórico” entry devoted to Barata, <http://parahistorico.blogspot.com/2009/02/governo-de-magalhaes-barata-no-para.html> (accessed May 2011).

rent controls were imposed on urban areas, and poor people were granted access to free legal representation.⁹⁸

Barata's social reforms targeted the countryside, something new in Paraense politics. Decree 184 from March 12, 1931, sought "to protect the proletarian classes, long oppressed by the men of the government and by laws that, instead of favoring them in their work, suffocate them with high taxes on the acquisition of small plots of land, while granting for free thousands and millions of hectares of public land to businessmen favored by political deals."⁹⁹ The decree exempted smallholders from paying taxes when applying for official land grants and established the possibility of giving small plots of 25 hectares of public land for free to poor families. Barata also sought to stop the exploitation of nut workers in the *castanhais*, denouncing "the numerous contracts (...) between the state and private parties that did not advance the interests of the collectivity and seriously harmed the public good."¹⁰⁰

Barata conducted several trips through the interior of the state, and while visiting Óbidos learned that those implicated in the Paiol case were still in jail. His statements after returning to Belém could not be more different from those of state politicians in the 1920s. While in 1927 the Paiol rebels were called "bandits" and "beasts" in the press, Barata proclaimed that the residents of Paiol "were evicted by bullets from the lands from which they and their families drew their subsistence, and saw their houses burnt down by those who in those days could do anything [they wanted]." Barata promised a prompt review of their case.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Coutinho and Flaksman, "Barata, Magalhães," 295; Coimbra, *O Pará na Revolução de 30*, 273-308; "Barata" at <http://parahistorico...>

⁹⁹ Quoted in Girolamo Domenico Treccani, *Violência e Grilagem: Instrumentos de Aquisição da Propriedade da Terra no Pará* (Belém: UFPA/ITERPA, 2001), 108.

¹⁰⁰ From Decree 11, November 7, 1930, in Treccani, *Violência e Grilagem*, 106-107.

¹⁰¹ First quotation from "O Banditismo nos Castanhaes: Sant Rosa e Seus Sequazes Mattam Barbaramente!", *Folha de Óbidos*, July 3, 1927, and second one from "Impressões do sr. Interventor Federal Sobre a Sua Excursão ao Baixo Amazonas," *O Estado do Pará*, December 6, 1931, in CF, Caso Paiol, approx. on p.449.

In 1930 the Bureau of Mines and *Castanhais* was created, along with a Commission to Regulate the Sale of *Castanhais* (Comissão de Sindicancia de Venda de Terras de Castanhaes, CSVTC), and the abusive perpetual leases (*aforamento perpétuo*) of Brazil nut fields, created in 1925, were prohibited.¹⁰² The CSVTC proved fairly vigilant in overseeing public land sales. In June 1931, the commission halted the purchase of the Santa Rosa property, requested by José Antonio Picanço Diniz, though the sale was eventually authorized because the application process was found to be clean.¹⁰³ Others did not have the same luck. Raimundo da Costa Lima's application for a property on the Craval river was annulled by the governor in 1933, as was Costa Lima's attempted purchase of the Tres Barracas property in May of the same year.¹⁰⁴

But reversing the power of local oligarchies, who had dominated the Brazil nut trade for almost two decades now, would require more than simply laws. It would require building local bases of power to mobilize votes in the upcoming 1934 state election, to start with. But such an operation was not easy and could not be carried out without the local oligarchs like the Guerreiros from Óbidos. Despite presenting themselves as Baratistas in the 1930s and 1940s, they had been bulwarks of the Republican political order, serving as mayors and members of the city council.¹⁰⁵

It was precisely Barata's impulsiveness and lack of experience navigating the turbulent waters of state politics that brought his first period in power to an end. Even though his Liberal Party won the 1934 elections to the Constitutional Assembly, when sessions started in April

¹⁰² Marília Ferreira Emmi, *A Oligarquia do Tocantins e o Domínio dos Castanhais* (Belém: UFPA/NAEA, 1999), 87; Treccani, *Violência e Grilagem*, 107.

¹⁰³ ITERPA, Autos de Medição do Terreno Santa Rosa, José Antonio Picanço Diniz, 1922.

¹⁰⁴ ITERPA, *Índice de Títulos Definitivos*, Theodora Gonçalves de Lima, unnamed property (Talonario 932/940, *Provisório* title from June 30, 1921); ITERPA, Autos de Medição "Tres Barracas" ou "São Braz", Theodora Gonçalves de Lima, 1923.

¹⁰⁵ Arquivo do Museu de Óbidos, Registro de Ofícios, 1920-1930, November 11, 1924; João Walter Tavares, *Inventário Cultural, Social, Político e Econômico de Oriximiná* (Oriximiná: Prefeitura Municipal de Oriximiná, 2006), 9, 14-15.

1935 to begin drafting a new state constitution and choose a new governor, seven legislators from Barata's party declined to vote him. Barata had the local militia occupy the legislature, allowing only loyal representatives to enter the building. When the seven dissident legislators tried to enter the building accompanied by a state justice and a military escort, a skirmish erupted. Two legislators were wounded and two civilians killed. Shortly afterwards, Getúlio Vargas removed Barata from office, and the legislature elected as governor José Carneiro da Gama Malcher from the Frente Unida Paraense, which represented the anti-Vargas political forces.¹⁰⁶

Once in power, Malcher reversed most of Barata's policies. While Barata had designated some large *castanhais* for public use, Malcher overturned that action. Powerful landowner Deodoro de Mendonça returned to the forefront of state politics after his ostracism under Barata.¹⁰⁷ Most of the land sales under review by the CSVTC were now granted, including those requested by Costa Lima and others.¹⁰⁸ Barata had been in power too short a time to carry out his project of democratizing access to land. Even had he had more time in office, his limited skills as a politician, and the strength of the entrenched interests that he confronted, would have hindered the ambitious goal of facilitating access to land for those traditionally excluded.

Barata returned to power in 1943, but by then Brazil nuts were no longer the important source of state revenue that they had been. Exports almost came to a halt during World War II, and when they resumed new areas started to export nuts, like the Tocantins river, Bolivia, and

¹⁰⁶ Coutinho and Flaksman, "Barata, Magalhães," 295; Levine, *The Vargas Regime*, 48-50.

¹⁰⁷ Emmi, *Oligarquia do Tocantins*, 85-89.

¹⁰⁸ Costa Lima's Tres Barracas land sale request had stopped in December 1933, but was granted by the new administration in November 1935, and Fernandes Nunhes' request of the "Central" property was stopped in 1932 but granted in 1938.

Peru.¹⁰⁹ In the Lower Amazon other products, both cultivated and collected, attracted capital investments, and some of the older producing areas, such as Alenquer, showed signs of exhaustion, probably due to the clearing of forest areas adjacent to the *castanhais*. Political concerns had shifted away from the nut workers and were now focused on the Battle for Rubber, which tried to revive the production of this item for the war effort. In later decades, peasants and rural workers faced new challenges and opportunities as the federal government adopted a more active role in promoting the development of Amazonia.

¹⁰⁹ Mori and Prance, "Taxonomy, Ecology, and Economic Botany of the Brazil Nut," 141, 144-145.

8.0 CONCLUSIONS

8.1 PLANTATION SLAVERY, CABOCLIZATION, AND AUTONOMY

The black peasantry of Amazonia emerged due to the confluence of two historical forces. On one hand, the slaves' push to transform their daily lives and to create autonomous rural communities, and on the other, the evolution of the regional economy. Slaves' desire to change the conditions of their lives probably existed from the first days of bondage in Pará. But the social and economic trends that led to such a transformation were not present until the slave regime eroded during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Between 1850 and approximately 1870 the plantation economy of Pará experienced one last period of growth. In the aftermath of the Cabanagem revolt in 1835-1840, cacao, sugar, rice, cotton, annatto, and coffee plantations using slave labor briefly thrived again, contributing to the growth of exports. However, around 1870 plantation crops (with the exception of cacao) began to decline as Pará's exports became increasingly dominated by rubber. Former planters gradually placed their investments in more dynamic and profitable activities, like cattle ranching and urban real estate. Some plantations were gradually abandoned; in other cases, the enslaved became managers, and plantation work shifted toward the production of foodstuffs for internal markets. In 1888 the abolition of slavery dealt a final blow to the plantation sector of the economy.

Macroeconomic changes at the regional level were coupled with changes in slave labor inside the plantations. Slaves performed a broad array of tasks, including the cultivation of cash crops, foodstuffs, and orchards. Thus they learned the basics of slash-and-burn agriculture and,

through interaction with itinerant retail merchants, the opportunities to market produce from the forests. In addition, slaves learned many lessons from the indigenous peoples of the region: how to cast a pot, how to use the bark of a tree to make a snake-bite antidote, how to weave a hammock with vegetable fibers – valuable lessons in how to adapt to the environment.

In addition to their links with other groups, the bondsmen nurtured dense kin and economic ties among themselves. Even in the absence of formal marriage, they nurtured children and formed extended families of up to three generations. In order to feed themselves, enslaved people did not rely exclusively on rations provided by the masters. Rather, slaves built their own internal economy by combining manioc agriculture, hunting, fishing, and the sale of forest goods (rubber, Brazil nuts, vegetable oils), whether legally or clandestinely. By 1888 the economic, social, and cultural bases of a *caboclo* community had been learned and put into practice by Paraense slaves.

At the moment of final abolition in 1888, the opportunities created by the masters' gradual withdrawal from the plantations led many freedmen to stay in the estates where they had worked and resided for decades. To be sure, some migrated to towns and cities. But the presence of dozens of black settlements along the rivers of the Guajarine basin and the Lower Tocantins (the old plantation areas of Pará) attests to the frequent formation of peasant communities. In 2005 there were approximately 150 black communities on the rivers around Belém and the Lower Tocantins. Preliminary studies found that a significant number of them were formed in lands donated by, or taken from, their former masters.¹

¹ For example São Judas and Ipanema, in the county of Bujará, originated from the sugar mill of a planter named Raimundo Trovão; Abacatal, in Ananindeua, where the community land originated in a donation of Count Coma Mello to three of his female slaves; Guajará-Miri, in the Lower Acará; Macapazinho and Boa Vista do Itá, in Santa Izabel, etc. Edna Castro, ed., CD-ROM *Quilombolas do Pará* (Belém: UFPA/NAEA, 2005): areas Bragantina, Guajarina, Grande Belém, Tocantina.

As this dissertation demonstrates, the freedmen who stayed in one such plantation, Santo Antônio da Campina, after the end of slavery created the black community of Cacao. A fundamental ingredient in the process of giving sense to social life in the community was the re-configuration of space. The slave-descendants created new *sítios*, new residential areas, new *roças*, and new patterns of geographic mobility based on religious celebrations, kinship networks, and economic activities.

This process of material construction was accompanied by a cultural one. By selectively re-configuring specific elements of their history, such as the 1908 list of residents and their interactions with different landowners, the Cacaenses crafted their own discourse of owning and belonging to the land. However, such discourse was not built only on ideas drawn from their past as slaves. Rather, the Cacaenses participated in a broader moral economy of the peasantry, based on ownership rights conferred by customary use. This idea stemmed from the traditional legal practice of recognizing undisputed residence and work on the land as a valid basis for granting legal title. Although the 1850 Land Law was intended to eliminate such practices, they continued to inspire the actions and the claims of poor peasants of all ethnic backgrounds throughout the Old Republic (1889-1931).

In comparison to other areas in the Americas, the slaves found in the former plantation regions of the Amazon had good prospects for becoming independent peasants. Arable land adjacent to water was available for slash-and-burn agriculture within some miles of populated centers. Forest products, along with game and fish, complemented the manioc-based diet. They also opened the possibility for peasants to obtain cash. The seeds of peasant life, planted under slavery, burgeoned under freedom. The Afro-Paraense trajectory from slaves to free peasants was powerfully shaped by the possibilities to reach autonomous life in this scenario, although

black peasants embraced and interpreted it from their own perspective and enriched it with their own experiences.

In 1900 a journalist writing for *A Província do Pará* complained of the indolence of Amazon peasants and of their indifference towards material wealth. He narrated the imaginary story of Simão Preto, a rubber tapper of African descent, and Pedro Caboclo, a stereotypical Amazonian peasant of mixed Indian and European descent. While Preto worked hard to collect as much rubber as possible, Caboclo engaged in desultory tapping and cheated his *patrão* as much as he could, with the intent of spending more time hunting and fishing for himself. Eventually both had equal balances at the local trading post, so Preto saw no point in continuing to work honestly and started to imitate Caboclo's practices. The journalist was denouncing the notable autonomy and contempt for wage work that peasants in the Amazon exhibited, which often enraged the landed and commercial elites of Pará. Second, the parable was intended to illustrate the supposed stability of labor in other Brazilian regions, where African slavery had predominated.² The chronology of the article was incorrect. The transformation of enslaved Africans into *caboclos* did not take place during the rubber boom, but much before, as this dissertation shows. Nonetheless, the author had inadvertently captured the dynamic relation between resistance to coerced labor and the adoption of local culture by Afro-descendants in Amazonia.

² Barbara Weinstein, "Persistence of Caboclo Culture in the Amazon: The Impact of the Rubber Trade, 1850-1920," in *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Eugene P. Parker (Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985), 100.

8.2 CURBING PEASANT AUTONOMY

Communities formed by escaped slaves had proliferated in Amazonia since the colonial period. In the Lower Amazon region they formed large, stable hamlets hosting hundreds of runaways, including recalcitrant Indians and military deserters. However, by the 1870s the fugitives started to leave their safe havens above the falls, settling around the lakes of the Trombetas river. One way they sought to make this process safer was to look for the protection of powerful individuals. On one hand, missionaries like Carmelo de Mazzarino and José Nicolino de Souza (sent by state authorities to pacify Indians and maroons in 1866 and 1877-1880, respectively) mediated between the maroons and the local authorities, and provided access to religious services. On the other hand, merchants or local politicians like Luiz de Oliveira Martins and Fulgêncio Simões provided protection against attempts at re-enslavement, although the patrons' rewards remain difficult to ascertain.

In the early decades of the 1900s commercial houses in the Lower Amazon arrived in the areas below the waterfalls where the maroons had established their settlements as free peasants. Seeking to control the gathering and marketing of Brazil nuts, the merchants made use of varied legal and extra-legal mechanisms: falsifying or altering land deeds, erasing the peasants from the documentary record, gathering information about the location of Brazil nut groves, and crafting ties of fictive kinship with the maroon-descendants. Brazil nut merchant also advanced goods in exchange for labor in order to keep the nut gatherers in debt. Some *mocambeiros* became commercial intermediaries between merchants and *quilombolas*, which provided an escape hatch out of debt peonage for a few individuals, but ultimately reinforced the domination exerted by Brazil nut merchants.

By the 1920s the commercialization of Brazil nuts, which for decades had represented an opportunity for material advancement for the *mocambeiros*, ceased to be an avenue for their material progress. In fact, it frequently became a source of indebtedness and coerced labor. Due to the creation of new, more refined mechanisms of subjection by commercial elites, the tides had turned, and Afro-descendant peasants living in the Brazil nut zones experienced a significant loss of their autonomy. The maroon-descendants did not accept this situation passively.

8.3 STRUGGLING OVER LABOR, GIVING MEANING TO FREEDOM

The *mocambeiros* resisted the monopolistic ambitions of the commercial houses in different ways. Individually, they pilfered nuts, kept undiscovered Brazil nut fields to themselves, and traded clandestinely to get better prices for the nuts they collected. By doing so the maroon-descendants sought to maintain small spaces of autonomy and resistance at the margins of the domination exerted by Brazil nut merchants. They succeeded to some extent, although for the most part during the 1920s and the 1930s the commercial houses maintained their hold over the extraction and trade of Brazil nuts.

In other parts of Latin America, in the Caribbean and the United States, Afro-descendants' post-emancipation struggles over working conditions often implied participating in labor unions. While in the U.S. unions tended to be divided along racial lines, in Latin America

they were often multi-racial.³ In Amazonia rural unions did not exist during the early decades of the 1900s, and urban ones were often limited to mutual aid organizations. However, in Amazonia black peasants also protested collectively before the authorities with the goal of preventing Brazil nut merchants from breaking customary practices of access to land.

Such actions rested on a relatively well defined set of ideas and practices. The central idea driving peasants to protest was that forest items were free and available to everybody, a principle that, as even state policymakers grudgingly acknowledged, had been inscribed in law until 1910. Therefore, local peasants considered themselves free to collect nuts and trade with whomever they wanted. The arrival of land surveyors to the *castanhais* was often the event that sparked the protests, for this was seen by nut collectors as the signal that they could lose access to the nut groves. The nature of collective actions varied, including petitioning the authorities, staging public demonstrations, participating in armed revolts, and fomenting xenophobic attacks on Portuguese and Italian merchants. However, the protests of the *mocambeiros* had another important characteristic: they were often based on multi-ethnic alliances. Thus, Brazil nut merchants who had had bonds with the *mocambeiros* that predated land demarcation, and poor *castanheiros* of different ethnic backgrounds, were frequently found among the participants and the leaders of anti-demarcation protests.

In sum, Afro-descendants in rural Amazonia conceived their citizenship rights as not only the ownership of family land, as in many other regions of the Atlantic,⁴ but also as the right to

³ George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America: 1800-2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 147; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 479; Rebecca Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 262, 265.

⁴ Jean Besson, *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica* (Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 2002), 85; O. Nigel Bolland, ed., *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America* (Belize: Angelus Press, 1997), 121, 170, 174; Foner, *Reconstruction*, 103; Ana Lugão Rios and Hebe Mattos, *Memórias do Cativo: Família,*

use and to market forest resources freely. This was a close parallel to ideas espoused by former slaves in the plantation zones near Belém, who emphasized land rights acquired through long-established customary use. Maroon-descendants in the lower Amazon shared this discourse, and added some elements by stressing how their ancestors had used and exploited forest products for decades, thus acquiring permanent rights to them. These were the ideas behind the claim of being “citizens of Tauapará” and “good Brazilians,” pronounced by Afro-descendants in post-emancipation land disputes in rural Amazonia.

8.4 THE AFTERMATH OF THE BRAZIL NUT RUSH

When Brazil entered World War II in 1942, Brazil nut exports were already decreasing due to shrinking demand in England and the United States.⁵ They would resume after the war, but by then Brazil nuts from the Tocantins river, Peru, and Bolivia, became dominant in Amazonian exports. In the Lower Amazon other products started to be cultivated and collected: timber, vegetable oils, juta (a vegetable fiber), and others, diversifying the economy of the region.⁶ Some Brazil nut producing areas also started to have lower yields due to the clearing of vegetation

Trabalho e Cidadania no Pós-Abolição (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2005), 38, 243; Rebecca Scott and Michael Zeuske, "Demandas de Propiedad y Ciudadanía: Los Exesclavos y sus Descendientes en la Región Central De Cuba," *Illes i Imperis* 5 (Fall 2001), 126-128.

⁵ Scott A. Mori and Ghillen T. Prance, "Taxonomy, Ecology, and Economic Botany of the Brazil Nut (*Bertholletia Excelsa* Humb. & Bonpl.: Lecythidaceae)," *Advances in Economic Botany* 8 (1990): 141, 144-145.

⁶ Pere Petit, *Chão de Promessas: Elites Políticas e Transformações Econômicas no Estado do Pará pós-1964* (Belém: Paka-Tatu Ltda, 2003), 60-65.

around the *castanheiras* to graze cattle. However, the commercial houses maintained control over the main *castanhais*.

This was not the only change brought by the war. Aided by the United States, in 1943 the Brazilian government launched the Battle for Rubber, a large-scale intervention to re-activate the extraction of latex in Amazonian forests. The Battle for Rubber sparked the construction of airports and medical facilities in several cities and towns of the interior, and in some ways anticipated the governmental interventions that would ensue, like the Plano de Valorização Econômica da Amazônia in 1948, a federally-designed plan to encourage growth in the area. Again, the PVEA failed to spur generalized economic growth.

In 1960 the Belém-Brasília highway facilitated the arrival of manufactures and other products to Pará, leading to the demise of local industries.⁷ In 1966 the Military Government also created the SUDAM (Superintendência de Desenvolvimento da Amazônia), another Federal agency in charge of promoting growth through colonization and economic incentives. Responding to tax subsidies and other measures, private capital flowed to the region and mining and livestock ranching thrived.⁸ Such activities profoundly altered social, productive, and political relations in Amazonia. The region entered a new historical period, and not a very positive one from the standpoint of popular sectors.

During the 1980s and 1990s Amazonia attracted the attention of the international media. The region's image was characterized by ecological devastation, huge social conflicts, and a high

⁷ Pere Petit, *Chão de Promessas*, 68-73.

⁸ The bibliography about this period is enormous; see Joe Foweraker, *The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Octavio Ianni, *A Luta pela Terra: História Social da Terra e da Luta pela Terra numa Área da Amazônia* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978), 91-119; Girolamo Domenico Treccani, *Violência e Grilagem: Instrumentos de Aquisição da Propriedade da Terra no Pará* (Belém: UFPA/ITERPA, 2001).

degree of violence against Indians, landless peasants, and rubber tappers like Chico Mendes.⁹ Sebastião Salgado's apocalyptic photographs showing thousands of barefoot and almost naked miners digging gold in the mine of Serra Pelada exemplify the image of the region in those years.¹⁰ However, I hope to have shown that the ideas of relentless exploitation and poverty, which to be sure speak of real conflicts in the region, do not define the history of Amazonia. Rather, there were periods in which rural dwellers also shaped the history of the region, and spaces that popular groups were always able to keep for themselves. During the first half of the twentieth century the outcome of confrontations between different social and ethnic groups over the control of land, labor and resources, were not predictable, but surprising and dynamic. Like the Amazon river, which traces endless meanderings as it approaches the sea, such conflicts and negotiations took unexpected turns, saw their course altered by events, and did not follow a straightforward and linear history towards the present.

⁹ For example Adrian Cowell, *In the Ashes of the Forest* [Documentary] (New York: Bullfrog Films, 1990); Javier Moro, *Senderos de Libertad* (Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1992).

¹⁰ Sebastião Salgado, *Terra: Struggle of the Landless* (London: Phaidon, 1997), 45, 48-49, 56, 118-121; Salgado, *Workers: An Archaeology of the Industrial Age* (New York: Aparture, 1993), 300-319.

APPENDIX A: SLAVES OF THE SANTO ANTÔNIO DA CAMPINA PLANTATION, 1874

Table A.1. Slaves of the Santo Antônio da Campina Plantation¹

Name	Race ²	Age	Origin	Marital Status	Parents
Unknown Parents					
1. Paula	Black	67	Pará	Single	
2. Domingas	Black	57	Africa		
3. Ingrácia	Black	51	Pará		
4. Libania	Carafuza	60	Pará	Widow	
5. Dorothea	Black	46	Pará	Single	
6. Catharina	Black	67	Africa		
7. Delfina	Black	54			
8. Gaudência	Black	45	Pará	Single	
9. Ignez	Black	61	Africa	Widow	
10. Carlota	Black	28	Pará	Single	
11. Francisca	Black	73	Africa	Single	
12. Maria Cassange	Black	87	Africa	Single	
13. Bernardo	Black	52	Africa	Single	

¹ The land deed containing this list of slaves is at ITERPA, *Livro de Títulos de Propriedade* no. 1 from Vigia, pp. 10-14.

² “Preto” or “preta” has been translated as “black,” and “mulato” as mulatto. Carafuz/a has not been translated; it means that who descends from mixed indigenous and black ancestry.

14. Domingos	Black	62	Africa	Single	
15. Luiz	Black	54		Single	
16. Elias	Black	57	Africa	Married	
17. Lino	Black	62	Pará	Single	
18. Bernardino	Mulatto	50	Pará		
19. Manoel Joaquim	Carafuz	50	Amazonas		
20. Trajano	Black	40	Pará	Single	
21. Marcelo	Black	37	Pará	Single	
22. Antônio Joaquim	Black	92	Africa	Single	
Known Parents					
23. Rosa	Black	39	Pará	Single	Maria's daughter
24. Feliciano	Black	55	Pará	Single	Maria's daughter
25. Josepha	Black	44	Pará	Married	Catharina's daughter
26. Leocádia	Black	52	Pará	Married	Joaquim's daughter
27. Líbia	Black	20	Pará	Single	Feliciano's daughter
28. Maria Galdina	Black	15	Pará	Single	Galdina's daughter
29. Julia	Black	10	Pará		Dorothea's daughter
30. Vicência	Black	1	Pará		Leopoldina's daughter
31. Vitorina	Black	8	Pará		Leopoldina's daughter
32. Carolina	Carafuza	9	Pará		Josepha's daughter
33. Joaquina	Black	17	Pará	Single	Josepha's daughter
34. Jeronima	Black	15	Pará	Single	Josepha's daughter
35. Andreza	Black	5			Carlota's daughter
36. Emiliana	Carafuza	6	Pará		Ângela's daughter
37. Ângela	Carafuza	27	Pará		Engracia's daughter
38. Maria Libânia	Mulatta	23	Pará		Libânia's daughter

39. Dionizia	Carafuza	13	Pará		Libânia's daughter
40. Idalino	Mulatto	14	Pará	Single	Josepha's son
41. Gregorio	Carafuz	10	Pará		Josepha's son
42. Eusébio	Black	30	Pará	Single	Engnácio's son
43. Sotero	Black	28	Pará		Delfina's son
44. Calisto	Black	34	Pará		Maria's son
45. Theodoro	Mulatto	30	Pará	Married	Libânia's son
46. Cazemiro	Black	30	Pará	Single	Lucindo's son
47. Antônio	Black	23	Pará	Single	Margarida's son
48. Roberto	Black	20	Pará	Single	Margarida's son
49. Vicente	Black	9	Pará		Margarida's son
50. Francisco	Black	10	Pará		Margarida's son
51. Laudegário	Black	21	Pará	Single	Emília's son
52. Nicolao	Black	19	Pará		Leopoldina's son
53. Benedito	Black	13	Pará		Dorothea's son
54. Gonçalo	Carafuz	8	Pará		Josepha's son
55. Simplicio	Carafuz	4	Pará		Josepha's son
56. João	Black	9	Pará		Carlota's son
57. Alphonse	Black	3	Pará		Ângela's son
58. Onofre	Black	25	Pará	Single	Engrácia's son

APPENDIX B: SLAVE FAMILIES AT THE SANTO ANTÔNIO DA CAMPINA PLANTATION, 1874

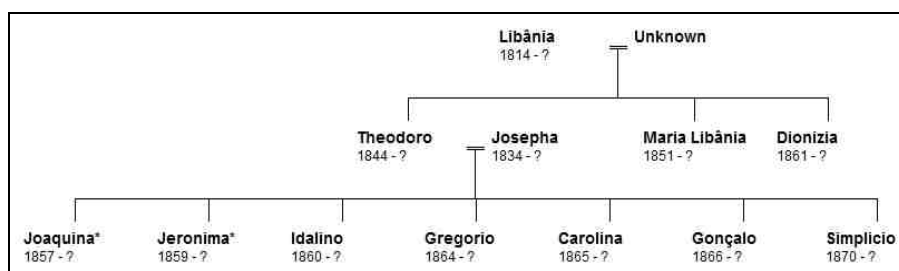


Figure B.1. Libânia's family¹

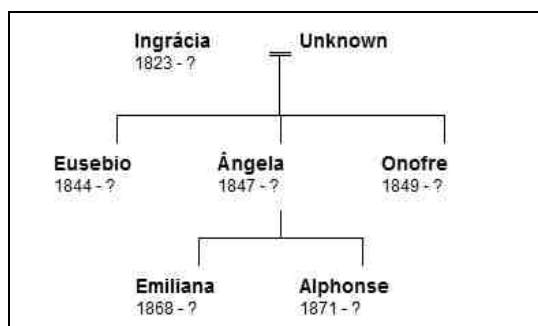


Figure B.2. Ingrácia's family

¹ Probably Theodoro was not Joaquin and Jeronima's father: he was 13 and 15 years when these women were born. This appendix is based on information from the 1874 Campina land sale deed ([Section 1.01\(a\)\(i\)Appendix A](#)).

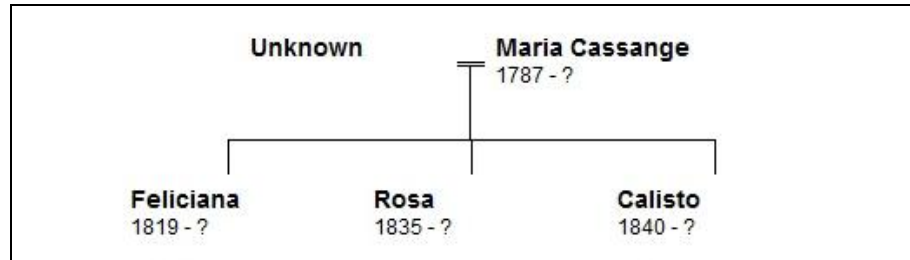


Figure B.3. Maria Cassange's Family

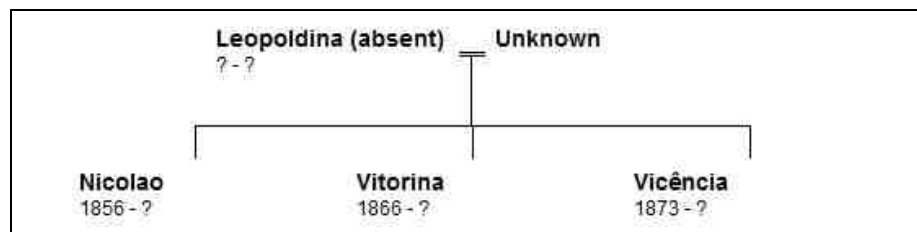


Figure B.4. The Family of Leopoldina, Absent

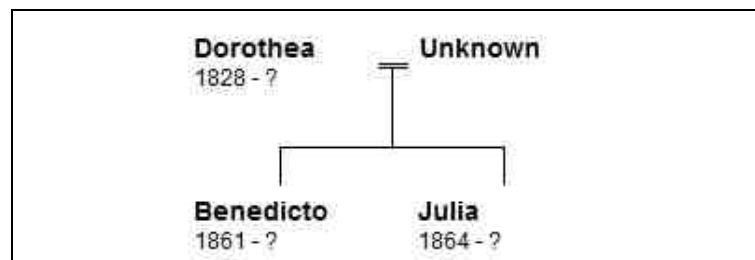


Figure B.5. Dorothea's family

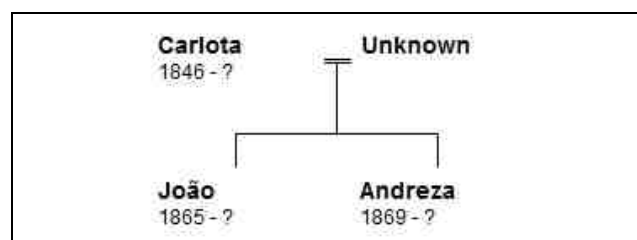


Figure B.6. Carlota's Family

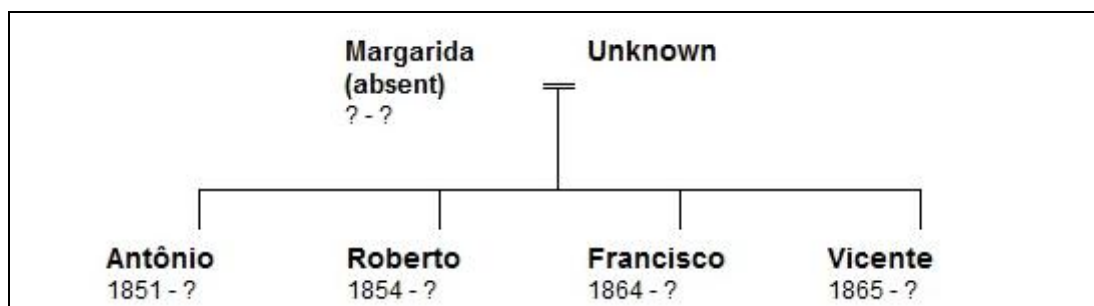


Figure B.7. The Family of Margarida, Absent

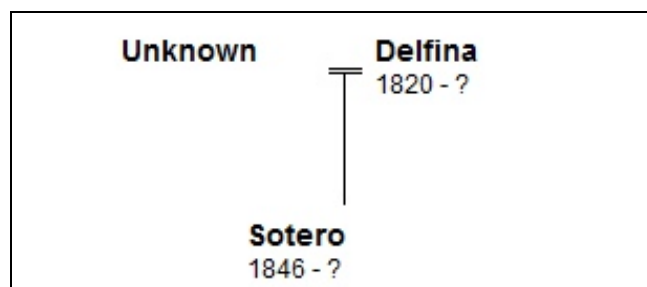


Figure B.8. Delfina and Sotero

Emília was Laudegário's (1853) absent mother.

Lucindo or Lucinda was Cazemiro's (1844) absent father/mother.

**APPENDIX C: BRAZIL NUT PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS FROM PARÁ AND
SELECTED COUNTIES, 1877-1935**

**Table C.1. Brazil Nut Production and Exports from Para and Selected Counties,
1877-1935¹**

Year	Prod. Pará (hl) ¹	5-Year Moving Avg	Prod. Alenquer (hectoliter)	Prod. Óbidos (hl)	Exports (hl)	Value of Exports (milreis)	Average Price (milreis / hl)
1877	111,943						
1878	82,307	81,278					
1879	31,641						
1880	99,221						
1881	106,953				71,114	392023	
1882	81,555				51,290	391824	
1883	52,916	87,461			29,715	301855	9400
1884	144,753				99,520	653510	

¹ Carlos Frazão, *Castanha do Brasil (Brazil Nuts): Quatro Castanhas Equivalem a Dois Ovos de Gallinha* (Belém Unknown publisher, 1935), tables “Estatística comparativa das safras,” and “Praça de Belem;” Paul Le Cointe, *L'amazonie Bresilienne: Le Pays-Ses Habitants, Ses Ressources, Notes et Statistiques Jusqu'en 1920* (Vol. 2. Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1934), 460-463; Pará, *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado em Sessão Solenne de Apertura da 1ª Reunião de Sua 12ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1924, pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Antonino E. De Sousa Castro* (Belém: Officinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1924), 30; Pará, *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado em Sessão Solenne de Apertura da 2ª Reunião de Sua 12ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1925, Pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Dionysio Ausier Bentes* (Belém: Officinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1925), 128.

1885	51,127				40,503	385513	
1886	40,410				17,119	172910	10825
1887	85,796				63,243	601189	10477
1888	124,700	63,426			93,194	630817	6975
1889	52,756				30,794	174568	5675
1890	13,467				4,221	46031	10500
1891	145,890				109,700	868350	10383
1892	59,210				69,841	967826	17258
1893	42,833	82,640			40,001	700281	15663
1894	118,250				113,545	1669594	16100
1895	47,016				44,688	646787	16592
1896	56,432				47,547	765383	18677
1897	55,503				65,325	1380897	21325
1898	68,417	63,891			65,258	1507362	23442
1899	115,167				115,262	1886372	14950
1900	23,936		10,844	2,836	20,929	331635	13475
1901	17,853		5,129	831	18,032	359868	18805
1902	64,120		17,313	13,593	71,116	1216874	18125
1903	77,284	49,114	43,198	26,557	89,064	1661642	18425
1904	15,783		6,041	3,927	23,549	447978	15875
1905	70,528		25,138	26,178	82,887	1217584	13650
1906	27,789		16,452	10,957	39,193	681988	13975
1907	38,080		16,849	20,631	52,362	1014065	16900
1908	69,953	56,107	30,063	33,455	83,230	1407028	15800
1909	74,105		10,145	32,739	78,125	1033139	13500
1910	70,608		22,947		69,929	1149162	15000
1911	57,016		3,734		38,638	871830	24925
1912	77,545		1,801	37,270	101,035	1874552	16500
1913	14,334	58,860	17,120		13,543	303187	22350
1914	78,805		24,936	25,997	122,311	2270288	13850
1915	66,600		18,952		67,382	1675672	16000
1916	168,600		55,524		61,843	2306338	26000
1917	153,143		34,732		188,401	2950360	20350
1918	98,758	131,356	52,293	28,062	94,481	1704864	17350
1919	157,997		17,098	32,149	155,841	4416723	39375
1920	78,282		16,777		78,282		
1921	184,165				184,165		
1922	319,318				319,318	8745162	27070
1923	257,605	249,057			257,605	14625917	56500
1924	314,371				314,371	15830361	47620
1925	169,824		12,539	15,993	169,824	16067485	87860

1926	410,473		72,096	81,389	410,473	15609408	36300
1927	129,031		5,630	3,104	129,031	9831957	70070
1928	218,175	244,786	40,763	47,060	218,175	16636326	72200
1929	336,673		60,635	34,243	336,673	14463550	41900
1930	129,577		5,713	5,460	129,577	7696835	48624
1931	415,550		57,672	75,363	415,550	18750664	41775
1932	168,129		8,600	10,514	168,129	10515760	37291
1933	396,096	309,364	75,215	75,579	396,096	13909099	28240
1934	190,083		18,304	20,447	190,083	14162328	43960
1935	376,964		75,693	81,646	376,964	28260836	54480

9.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY

9.1 ARCHIVES

Arquivo do Fórum Judiciário de Santarém (AFS)

Livros de Testamentos, 1866-1869, 1882-1883

Processos Variados (uncatalogued collection)

Arquivo do Museu de Óbidos (AMO)

Livros de Sessões do Conselho e da Câmara Municipal, 1840-1930

Lançamento do Imposto de Industria e Profissão, 1907, 1916

Registro de Ofícios, 1920-1930

Avulsos, 1917-1921

Arquivo Público do Estado do Pará (APEP)

Documentação Notarial

Livro de Registro de Imóveis de Óbidos, 1930-1933

Fundo Segurança Pública

Correspondências dos delegados e subdelegados, 1854-1858

Chefatura de Polícia, 1920-1933

Fundo Segurança Pública, Avulsos

Chefatura de Polícia, 1919-1926

Juizo de Direito da Primeira Vara

Inventários Post-Mortem, 1875-1878
Juízo de Direito da Segunda Vara
Inventários Post-Mortem, 1875-1877
Juízo de Órfãos da Capital
Inventários Post-Mortem, 1856-1869
Juízo de Órfãos de Igarapé-Miry
Inventários Post-Mortem, 1865-1876
Junta Classificadora de Escravos
Minutas de Ofícios, 1881-1885
Livro de Batismo de Colares, 1895-1898
Repartição de Obras Públicas, Terras e Viação
Ofícios, 1892-1898
Secretaria do Governo e Secretaria Geral do Estado, Avulsos
Ofícios para Intendências do Interior, 1920-1925
Secretaria da Presidência da Província do Grão-Pará
Correspondências das Câmaras Municipais, 1854

Arquivo da Sociedade Literaria e Recreativa 5 de Agosto – Cartório Raiol (5A-CR)

Inventários Post-Mortem, 1864-1886
Various processes (uncatalogued collection)

Cartório do 2º Ofício (“Ferreira”), Óbidos (CF)

Post-Mortem Inventories, 1920-1936
Processos Variados, 1912-1934

Cartório do 2º Ofício (“Toninho”), Alenquer (C2A)

Post-Mortem Inventories, 1861-1893, 1937

Centro de Memória da Amazônia (CMA)

Inventários Post-Mortem, 1871-1877, 1929
14ª Vara Cível, Cartório Sarmento – Autos de Manutenção de Posse, 1862-1899,
1903-1913

Fundação Cultural Tancredo Neves (FCTN)
Newspaper Collection

Instituto de Terras do Pará (ITERPA)
Índice de Títulos Definitivos
Índice de Títulos de Posse
Índice de Títulos de Propriedade
Livro de Títulos de Propriedade 1, Vigia
Various Processes, Óbidos and Alenquer (selected merchants)

Paróquia de Alenquer (PA)
Livro de Baptismo, 1895-1899, 1910-1911
Livro de Baptismo, 1935-1937
Livro de Casamentos, 1891-1901
Livro de Óbitos, 1918-1921

9.2 INTERVIEWS

Alenquer

Antônio Nácio Vianna (Tio Nácio, born 1921), Pacoval (conducted in Alenquer), May 8, 2009.
Dona Cruzinha (Maria da Cruz, born 1944), Pacoval, April 20, April 21, April 23, 2009.
Dona Mimita (Lucimar, born 1920), Pacoval, April 23, 2009.
Dona Nazita (born 1946), Pacoval, April 29, 2009.
Dona Piquixita (Maria José Monteiro, born 1915), Pacoval, April 22, 2009.
Olinda Vallinoto (born c.1916), Alenquer, April 20, 2009.

Oriximiná

Anarcindo da Silva Cordeiro (born 1951), Tapagem community (conducted in Oriximiná), June 7, 2009.
Antônio Souza (born 1940) and Edith Printes (born 1943), Abui community, June

5 and June 6, 2009.

Deometilo Cordeiro (born 1945), Tapagem community, June 6, 2009.

Dona Biquinha (born 1934), Pancada community (conducted in Oriximiná), May 29, 2009.

Dona Deuza (born 1954), Pancada community (conducted in Oriximiná), May 29, 2009.

Francisco Alegre (born 1952), Boa Vista, June 4, 2009.

Francisco Edilberto Figueiredo de Oliveira (born 1958), Poço Fundo (conducted in Oriximiná), May 29, 2009.

João Xavier (born 1952), Abui (conducted in the Tapagem community), June 4, 2009.

José do Carmo (born 1944), Jamary, May 27, 2009.

José Melo (born 1942), Boa Vista, May 27, 2009.

Luis Bacellar Guerreiro (born 1929), June 9, 2009.

Maria de Souza (born 1935), Javary (conducted in Oriximiná), May 23, 2009

Manoel das Graças Pereira (born 1951), Nova Esperança, Erepecu (conducted in Boa Vista), May 25, 2009.

Manoel Francisco Cordeiro Xavier (born 1934), Abui community, June 5 and June 6, 2009.

Maria Rosa Xavier Cordeiro (born 1925), Tapagem community, June 5 and June 6, 2009.

Collective interview with Nicanor (born 1940), Aldenor Pereira de Jesus (born 1953), Teresa Fernandes Regis (born 1938), and Raymundo Dias Barbosa (born 1947), all from Erepecu lake (conducted in Jamary), June 6, 2009.

Ruy Brasil (born 1945), Tapagem community (conducted in Oriximiná), June 7, 2009.

Valério and Zuleide Melo (born 1945 and 1955), Boa Vista, May 26, 2009.

Santarém

Cleinelze Souza Silva (born 1954), Santarém, April 27, 2009

Vigia

Alcides Souza de Jesus (born 1940), Vigia, March 26, 2009.

Ana Maria dos Santos (unknown DOB), Vigia, August 17, 2009.

Avelino de Almeida (unknown DOB), Cacao (conducted in Vigia), March 10, 2009.

Dona Osmarina de Melo (unknown DOB, c. 1948), Cacau, March 10, 2009.

Guilhermina da Conceição Goulart (born 1916), Cacau (conducted in Vigia), March 13, 2009.

Manoel Ramos dos Santos (born 1948), Terra Amarela, March 19, 2009.

Manoel Santana Ferreira (born 1940), Vigia, March 25, 2009.

Manoel Santana Porto de Miranda (born 1940), Vigia, March 9, 2009.

Nadi Ferreira dos Santos (born 1953), Terra Amarela, March 19, 2009.

Raimunda das Dores Miranda (Dona Bena, born 1922), Santo Antônio do Tauapará, April 1, 2009.

Seu Cebola (Ilson Pereira de Melo, born 1940), Cacau (conducted also in Terra Amarela and Vigia), March 10, March 19, August 12, 2009.

Seu Diquinho (unknown DOB), Cacau, March 10, 2009.

Seu Nunhes (Manoel da Conceição de Mello, born 1926), Vigia, March 11, March 31, August 10, 2010.

Sylvia Helena Tocantins de Mello Éder (born 1933), Belém, March 3, 2009.

Zacarias Atayde (born 1943), Santo Antônio de Tauapará, April 1, 2009.

9.3 NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

A Província do Pará. Belém, 1921.

Diário Oficial do Estado do Pará. Belém, 1921.

Folha do Norte. Belém, 1925-1929.

O Alenquerense. Alenquer, 1942.

O Município. Alenquer, 1932.

9.4 PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

- Agassiz, Louis, and Elizabeth Cabot Cary Agassiz. *A Journey in Brazil*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1895.
- Aliprandi, Ermenegildo, and Virginio Martini. *Gli Italiani del Nord del Brasile: Rassegna delle Vite e delle Opere della Stirpe Italica negli Stati del Nord Brasiliano*. Belem: Typ. da Livraria Gillet, 1932.
- Allen, Nellie B. *Geographical and Industrial Studies: South America*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1918.
- Amaral, Antonio. *Memorias para a História da Vida do Venerável Arcebispo de Braga Fr. Caetano Brandão*. Vol. 1. Braga: Typ. dos Orfãos 1867.
- Barbosa Rodrigues, João. *Exploração e Estudo do Vale do Amazonas*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1875.
- Barreto, Jose Velloso. *Roteiro da Navegação do Rio Amazonas do Pará até Iquitos*. Lisboa: Typographia de J. H. Verde, 1878.
- Bastos, A. C. Tavares. *O Vale do Amazonas: A Livre Navegação do Amazonas, Estatística, Produção, Comércio, Questões Fiscais do Vale do Amazonas*. São Paulo: Editôra Nacional, 1975 [1866].
- Bates, Henry Walter. *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*. London: John Murray, 1892.
- Borges, Antonio. *Negociatas Escandalosas*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Jornal de Commercio, 1938.
- Borges, Ricardo. *Castanha e Oleaginosas da Amazônia*. Belém: Associação Comercial do Pará, 1952.
- Brazil. Directoria Geral de Estatística. *Recenseamento do Brasil em 1872*. 21 vols. Rio de Janeiro: n.p., 1873-76.
- Brazil. Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil (1º de Setembro de 1940): Série Regional: Parte III - Pará*. Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 1952.
- Brazil. Ministerio da Fazenda. *Exposição do Estado da Fazenda Publica do Anno de 1821 à 1823*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1823.
- . *Relatorio em Fim do Ano de 1825, com o Orçamento da Renda, e Despeza que podera ter Lugar no Corrente Anno de 1826*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1826.
- Brazil. Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial (SEPPIR). *Programa Brasil Quilombola*. Brasília: SEPPIR, 2005.
- Brown, Charles Barrington, and William Lidstone. *Fifteen Thousand Miles on the Amazon and its Tributaries*. London: E. Stanford, 1878.

- Castro, Edna. *Escravos e Senhores de Bragança: Documentos Históricos do Século XIX, Região Bragantina, Pará* Belém: Alves Editora, 2006.
- Conselho Nacional de Proteção aos Índios, Ministério Da Agricultura / *Diário das Três Viagens (1877-1878-1882) do Revmo. Padre Nicolino Rodrigues de Sousa ao Rio Cuminá Afl. Margem Esq. Trombetas do Rio Amazonas*. Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1946.
- Cordeiro, Luiz. *O Estado do Pará: Seu Commercio e Industrias de 1719 a 1920*. Belém: Tavares Cardoso & Ca., 1920.
- Coudreau, Otille. *Voyage au Cuminá: 20 Avril 1900 - 7 Septembre 1900*. Paris: Lahure, 1901.
- . *Voyage au Rio Curuá: 20 Novembre 1900-7 Mars 1901*. Paris: Lahure, 1903.
- . *Voyage Au Trombetas: 7 Août 1899 - 25 Novembre 1899*. Paris: Lahure, 1900.
- Cruls, Gastão. *A Amazônia que Eu Vi: Óbidos - Tumucumaque* Rio de Janeiro: ?, 1930.
- Da Cunha, Raymundo Cyriaco Alves. *Paraenses Illustres*. Belém: Editora J. B. Dos Santos e Cia., 1900.
- Da Silva, Antonio José Pestana "'Meios de Dirigir o Governo Temporal dos Indios'." In *Corographia Historica, Chronographica, Genealogica, Nobiliaria, e Politica do Imperio do Brasil* edited by Antonio José de Mello Moraes. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Brasileira, 1860.
- Dantas, Mercedes. *A Força Nacionalizadora do Estado Novo*. Rio de Janeiro: Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, 1942.
- De Magalhães, José Vieira Couto. *Relatório dos negocios da Provincia do Pará*. Belém: Typographia de Frederico Rhossard, 1864.
- De Miranda, Victorino Coutinho Chermont. *A Família Chermont: Memória Histórica e Genealógica*. Rio de Janeiro: ?, 1982.
- De Rivière, Baron H. Arnous. "Explorations in the Rubber Districts of Bolivia." *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 32, 5 (1900): 432-40.
- De São José, João. "Viagem e Visita do Sertão em o Bispado do Grão-Pará em 1762 e 1763: Escripta pelo Bispo D. Fr. João de São José." *Jornal do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* IX (1869): 43-107, 79-227, 328-76, 476-527.
- De Souza, Inglês *O Cacaulista (Cenas da Vida do Amazonas)*. Belém: Universidade Federal do Pará, 1973 [1876].
- . *O Coronel Sangrado (Cenas da Vida no Amazonas)*. Belém: UFPA, 1968 (1877).
- Derby, Orville. "O Rio Trombetas." *Boletim do Museu Paraense de Historia Natural e Ethnographia* 2, 5 (1898): 366-82.
- Do Lago, Antonio Florencio Pereira *Relatório dos estudos da Comissão Exploradora dos rios Tocantins e Araguayá apresentado pelo mayor do Corpo de Estado Maior de 1a classe* Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1876.
- Dos Santos, Paulo Rodrigues. *Tupaiulândia (Santarém)*. Belém: Prefeitura de Santarém, 1999.
- Ducke, Adolpho. "Explorações Científicas no Estado do Pará." *Boletim do Museu Paraense*

- Emilio Goeldi* 7 (1909).
- E Silva, Ignacio Accioli De Cerqueira. *Corografia Paraense, ou Descrição Física, Historica, e Política, da Provincia do Gram-Pará*. Bahia: Typographia do Diario, 1833.
- Edwards, William H. *A Voyage Up the River Amazon Including a Residence at Pará*. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1861.
- Eleutherio, Ignacio Moura and Paulo. *A Amazônia do futuro*. Belém 1926.
- Estado_Do_Pará. *Questão das Terras da Fazenda “Boa-Morte” (Hoje-Badajós) Propriedade do Coronel Vespasiano Marques de Oliveira Brito e Seus Irmãos no Rio Ganhoão Municipio de Chaves – Estado do Pará* Belém: Typ. Gutenberg, 1927.
- Frazão, Carlos. *Castanha do Brasil (Brazil Nuts): Quatro Castanhas Equivalem a Dois Ovos de Gallinha*. Belém Unknown publisher, 1935.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Interpretación del Brasil*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1945.
- Gomes, Flavio, Jonas Marçal De Queiroz, and Mauro César Coelho. *Relatos de Fronteiras: Fontes para a História da Amazônia*. Belém: UFPA / NAEA, 1999.
- Guimarães, Ildefonso. *Os Dias Recurvos*. Belém: Secretaria Estadual de Cultura?, 2003.
- Harris, Mark. *Life on the Amazon: The Anthropology of a Peasant Village*. London: British Academy, 2001.
- Hartt, Charles F. "A Geologia do Pará." *Boletim do Museu Paraense de Historia Natural e Ethnographia* I (1896): 257-73.
- Herndon, Lieut. Wm. Lewis. *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*. Washington: Taylor & Maury, 1854.
- Hilbert, Peter Paul. *A Cerâmica Arqueológica da Região de Oriximiná*. Belém: Instituto de Antropologia e Etnologia do Pará, 1955.
- Hurley, Jorge. *Nos Sertões do Gurupy*. Belém: Oficinas Graphics do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1928.
- . "Palma Muniz e o Instituto Historico." *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Pará* VI (1931): 199-205.
- Instituto Brasileiro De Geografia E Estatistica. *Recenseamento Geral do Brasil (Realizado em 1 de Setembro de 1940): Série Regional Parte III - Pará: Censo Demográfico População e Habitação: Censos Econômicos Agrícola, Industrial, Commercial e de Serviços*. Rio de Janeiro: Serviço Gráfico do IBGE, 1952.
- Instituto Historico E Geographico Do Pará. *Catálogo da Primera Série de Uma Galeria Histórica* Belém: Imprensa Official do Estado do Pará 1918.
- Kerbey, J. Orton. *The Land of To-morrow: A Newspaper Exploration Up the Amazon and Over the Andes to the California of South America*. New York: W.F. Brainard, Publisher, 1906.
- Kidder, Daniel P. *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil, Embracing Historical and Geographical Notices of the Empire and Its Several Provinces*. Vol. 2. London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845.

- Lange, Algot. *In the Amazon Jungle: Adventures in Remote Parts of the Upper Amazon River, Including a Sojourn Among Cannibal Indians*. New York / London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1912.
- . *The Lower Amazon*. New York and London The Knickerbocker Press, 1914.
- Le Cointe, Paul. *L'Amazonie Bresilienne: Le Pays-Ses Habitants, Ses Ressources, Notes et Statistiques Jusqu'en 1920*. Vol. 2. Paris: Augustin Challamel, 1934.
- Leal, Oscar. *Viagem a um Paiz de Selvagens*. Lisboa: Livraria de Antonio Maria Pereira, 1895.
- Lima, Joaquim. "História dos Negros que Através da Luta Conseguiram Libertar-se dos Senhores de Escravos de Santarém, Pará." Oriximiná: José Luis Ruiz-Peinado personal collection, 1992.
- Lobato, Eládio. *Caminho de Canoa Pequena*. Belém: ?, 2007.
- Lopes, F. Gonçalves, ed. *Emilio Carrey: O Amazonas: Segunda Parte: Os Revoltosos do Pará: Descrição de Viagem, Traduzida e Annotada por F.F. da Silva Vieira* Lisboa: Typographia do Futuro, 1862.
- MacLachlan, Colin. "African Slave Trade and Economic Development in Amazonia." In *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, edited by Robert B. Toplin, 112-45. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974.
- Marajó, Barão De. *A Amazonia: As Províncias do Pará e Amazonas e o Governo Central do Brasil*. Lisboa: Livraria Antiga e Moderna, 1883.
- . *As Províncias do Pará e Amazonas e o Governo Central do Brasil*. Lisboa: Livraria Antiga e Moderna de A. Rodrigues, 1883.
- . *As Regiões Amazonicas: Estudos Chorographicos dos Estados do Gram Pará e Amazonas*. Lisboa: Imprensa de Libanio da Silva, 1896.
- Marcoy, Paul. *Viagem pelo Rio Amazonas*. Manaus: Edições Governo do Estado do Amazonas, 2001.
- Maw, Henry Lister. *Journal of a Passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Crossing the Andes in the Northern Provinces of Peru, and Descending the River Marañon, or Amazon* London: John Murray, 1829.
- Ministerio Da Agricultura, Industria E Commercio, Serviço De Inspecção E Defesa Agricolas. *Questionarios Sobre as Condições da Agricultura dos Municipios do Estado do Pará*. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. do Serviço de Estatística, 1913.
- Ministerio Da Agricultura, Industria E Commercio. *Recenseamento do Brazil: Realizado em 1 de Setembro de 1920*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia da Estatística, 1926.
- . *Synopse do Recenseamento Realizado em 1 de Setembro de 1920*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia da Estatística, 1922.
- Moraes, Antonio José De Mello. *Corographia Historica, Chronographica, Genealogica, Nobiliaria, e Politica do Imperio do Brasil*. Vol. II. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Brasileira, 1860.
- Muniz, João de Palma. *Adesão do Grão-Pará à Independência e Outros Ensaio*s. Belém:

- Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1973.
- . "Adesão do Grão-Pará à Independência." *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Pará* 6, 4 (1922).
- . *Castanhaes de Alemquer: Relatório de Verificação Local, Apresentado ao Sr. Dr. Antonino de Souza Castro, Governador do Estado pelo Engenheiro Civil João de Palma Muniz, Chefe da 3ª Secção da Directoria de Obras Publicas*. Belém: ?, 1921.
- . *Estado de Grao-Pará: Inmigração e Cónonisação: História e Estatística*. Belém: Imprensa Oficial do estado do Pará, 1916.
- . "Grenfell na história do Pará, 1823-1824." *Annaes da Biblioteca e Archivo Público* 10 (1926).
- . *Indice Geral dos Registros de Terras*. Vol. 5 - Registros de Posse Belém: Imprensa Official, 1909.
- , ed. *Indice Geral dos Registros de Terras*. Vol. 1. Belem: Imprensa Official, 1907.
- . *Legislação de Terras: Dados Estadísticos*. Belém: Departamento de Obras Públicas, Terras e Viação, 1924.
- . *Limites Pará-Goyaz: Notas e Documentos*. Belém: Imprensa Official do Estado, 1920.
- . *O Instituto Santo Antonio do Prata (Município de Igarapé-Assú)*. Belém: Typ. da Livraria Escolar, 1913.
- . "Os Contemplados (Não Contemplados com Documentação)." *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Pará* 1, 1 (1912): 71-78.
- . *Patrimonios dos Conselhos Municipaes do Estado do Pará*. Paris / Lisbon: Aillaud & Cia., 1904.
- Nicholson, John. *The Operative Mechanic and British Machinist; Being a Practical Display of the Manufactures and Mechanical Arts of the United Kingdom*. London: Knight and Lacey, Paternoster-Row; and Westley and Tyrrell, 1825.
- Pará. *Discurso Recitado pelo Exmo. Sñr Doutor João Maria de Moraes, Vice-presidente da Provincia do Pará na Abertura da Segunda Sessão da Quarta Legislatura da Assembléa Provincial no dia 15 de Agosto de 1845*. Belém: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1845.
- . *Exposição Apresentada pelo Exm.o Senr. Conselheiro Sebastião do Rego Barros, Presidente da Provincia do Gram-Pará, ao Exm.o Senr Tenente Coronel d'Engenheiros Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan, no Dia 29 de Maio de 1856, por Occasião de passar-lhe a Administração da Mesma Provincia*. Belém: Typ. de Santos e Filhos, 1856.
- . *Falla com que o Excmo., Senr. Conselheiro João Silveira de Sousa, Abriu a 1ª Sessão da 25ª Legislatura da Assembléa Legislativa Provincial em 15 de Uutubro [sic] de 1884*. Belém: Typ. de Francisco Costa Junior, 1885.
- . *Falla Dirigida pelo Exmo. Sr. Conselheiro Jeronimo Francisco Coelho, Prezidente da Provincia do Gram Pará a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na Abertura da Segunda Sessão Ordinaria da Sexta Legislatura no Dia 1º de Outubro de 1849*. Belém: Typographia de Santos & Filhos, 1849.

- . *Falla que o exm. snr. conselheiro Sebastião do Rego Barros, presidente desta provincia, dirigiu á Assembleia Legislativa provincial na abertura da mesma Assembleia no dia 15 de agosto de 1854* Belém: Typ. da Aurora Paraense, 1854, 1854.
- . *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado em Sessão Solenne de Abertura da 1ª reunião de sua 12ª legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1924, pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Antonino E. de Sousa Castro* Belém: Officinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1924.
- . *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado em Sessão Solenne de Abertura da 2ª Reunião de sua 12ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1925, pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Dionysio Ausier Bentes* Belém: Officinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1925.
- . *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado, em Sessão Solenne de Abertura da 1ª Reunião de sua 13ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1927, pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Dionysio Ausier Bentes* Belém: Officinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1927.
- . *Mensagem Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Pará, em Sessão Solenne de Abertura da 3ª Reunião de sua 13ª Legislatura, a 7 de Setembro de 1929, pelo Governador do Estado, Dr. Eurico de Freitas Valle.* Belém: Officinas Graphicas do Instituto Lauro Sodré, 1929.
- . *Mensagem Dirigida Apresentada ao Congresso Legislativo do Estado do Pará em Sessão Solemne de Abertura da 3ª Reunião de sua 10ª Legislatura a 7 de Setembro de 1920 pelo Governador do Estado Dr. Lauro Sodré* Belém: Typographia da Imprensa Official do Estado 1920.
- . *Mensagem Dirigida em 7 de Setembro de 1910 ao Congresso Legislativo do Pará pelo Dr. João Antonio Luiz Coelho Governador do Estado.* Belém: Imprensa Official do Estado do Pará, 1910.
- . *Relatorio 1855, em 15 de Outubro.* Belém: ?, 1855.
- . *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa da Provincia do Pará na Primeira Sessão da XIII Legislatura Pelo Exm.o Senr. Presidente da Provincia, Dr. Francisco Carlos de Araujo Brusque em 1.o de Setembro de 1862* Belém: Typ. de Frederico Carlos Rhossard, 1862.
- . *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa da Provincia do Pará na Segunda Sessão da XIII Legislatura pelo Excellentissimo Senhor Presidente da Provincia, Doutor Francisco Carlos de Araujo Brusque, em 1.o de Novembro de 1863* Belém: Typ. de Frederico Carlos Rhossard, 1863.
- . *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembleia Legislativa Provincial do Pará no dia 15 de Agosto de 1857, por Occasião da Abertura da Segunda Sessão da 10.a Legislatura da Mesma Assembleia, pelo Presidente, Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan.* [Belém]: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1857.
- . *Relatório Apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na 2a Sessão da 22a Legislatura em 15 de Fevereiro de 1881 pelo Exm. Sr. Dr. José Coelho da Gama e Abreu.* Belém: Typ. do Diario de Noticias de Costa & Campbell, 1881.

- . *Relatorio Apresentado a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na Primeira Sessão da 19.a Legislatura pelo Presidente da Provincia do Pará, o Excellentissimo Senhor Doutor Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, em 15 de Fevereiro de 1874*. Belém: Typ. do Diario do Gram-Pará, 1874.
- . *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa Provincial na Segunda Sessão da 17.a Legislatura pelo Dr. Abel Graça, Presidente da Provincia* Belém: Typ. do Diario do Gram-Pará, 1871.
- . *Relatorio Apresentado á Assembleia Legislativa Provincial por S. Exca. o Sr. Vice-Almirante e Conselheiro de Guerra Joaquim Raymundo de Lamare, Presidente da Provincia, em 15 de Agosto de 1867* Belém: Typ. de Frederico Rhossard, 1867.
- . *Relatorio Apresentado ao Exm. Senr. Dr. Francisco Maria Corrêa de Sá e Benevides pelo Exm. Senr. Dr. Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, por Occasião de Passar-lhe a Administração da Provincia do Pará, no Dia 17 de Janeiro de 1875*. Belém: Typ. de F.C. Rhossard, 1875.
- . *Relatorio apresentado ao exm.o snr. dr. José Joaquim da Cunha, presidente da provincia do Gram Pará, pelo commendador Fausto Augusto Aguiar por ocasião de entregar-lhe a administração da provincia no dia 20 de agosto de 1852*. Belém: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1852.
- . *Relatorio do Exmo. Senr. Angelo Thomaz do Amaral Presidente da Provincia do Gram-Pará ao Exmo. Vice-Presidente Olyntho José Meira Por Occasião de Passar-lhe a Administração da Mesma* Belém: Typ. de Santos & Irmãos, 1861, 1861.
- . *Relatorio do Presidente da Provincia do Gram Pará o Exmo. Snr. Dr. Fausto Augusto d'Aguiar na Abertura da Segunda Sessão Ordinaria da Setima Legislatura da Assembleia Provincial No dia 15 de Agosto de 1851* Belém: Typ. de Santos & Filhos, 1851.
- . "Relatório do Presidente da Província do Pará Doutor João Alfredo Correa de Oliveira Passando a Administração da Mesma ao 4º Vice-Presidente, Doutor Abel Graça." (1870).
- . *Relatorio Lido pelo Ex.mo S.r Vice-presidente da Provincia, d.r Ambrosio Leitão da Cunha, na Abertura da Primeira Sessão Ordinaria da XI. Legislatura da Assembleia Legislativa Provincial no dia 15 de Agosto de 1858*. Belém: Typ. Commercial de Antonio José Rabello Guimarães, 1858.
- Parker, Eugene. "Cabocclization: The Transformation of the Amerindian in Amazonia 1615-1800." In *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Eugene P. Parker, 1-51. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.
- Parker, Eugene P., ed. *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Vol. 32, Studies in Third World Societies. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.
- Penna, Domingos Soares Ferreira. *Noticia Geral das Comarcas de Gurupá e Macapá* Belém: Typographia do Diario do Gram-Pará 1872.
- . *A Região Occidental da Provincia do Pará. Resenhas Estatisticas das Comarcas de*

- Obidos e Santarem Apresentadas a S. Exc. o Sr. Conselheiro José Bento da Cunha Figueiredo Presidente da Provincia.* Belém: Typographia do Diario de Belem, 1869.
- Percheiro, D. A. Gomes. *Questões do Pará.* Lisboa: Lallémant Frères, 1875.
- Raiol, Domingos Antônio. *Motins Politicos ou Historia dos Principaes Acontecimentos Politicos da Provincia do Pará desde o Anno de 1821 até 1835.* 5 vols. Vol. IV. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Hamburgueza do Lobão, 1884.
- Rodrigues, João Barbosa. *Exploração e Estudos do Valle do Amazonas: Relatório sobre o Rio Capim* Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1875.
- Skinner, John S. "Tide Mills of Easton, MD." In *The American Farmer: Containing Original Essays and Selections on Agriculture, Horticulture, Rural and Domestic Economy, and Internal Improvements: With Illustrative Engravings and the Prices of Country Produce* edited by John S. Skinner, 29. Baltimore, MD: John D. Toy, 1828.
- Smith, Herbert Huntington. *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast.* London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1879.
- Smyth, William, and Frederick Lowe. *Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Pará Across the Andes and Down the Amazon.* London: John Murray, Albermarle Streest, 1836.
- Sodré, Lauro, ed. *The State of Pará: Notes for the Exposition of Chicago.* New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1893.
- Soeiro, Francisco. "Collection of 85 Carimbó Lyrics Compiled by Francisco Soeiro." *Vigia*, Unknown year, c.1930-60.
- Teixeira, Lygia Conceição Leitão. *Marambiré: O Negro no Folclore Paraense.* Belém: Secretaria de Cultura / Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves, 1989.
- Tocantins, Sylvia Helena. *No Tronco da Sapopema: Vivências Interioranas* Belém: Imprensa Oficial, 1998.
- Vergolino-Henry, Anaiza, and Arthur Napoleão Figueiredo. *A Presença Africana na Amazônia Colonial: Uma Notícia Histórica.* Belém: Arquivo Público do Pará, 1990.
- Verissimo, José. *José Verissimo: A Pesca na Amazonia.* Vol. 111, Monographias Brasileiras. Rio de Janeiro / São Paulo: Livraria Classica de Alves & C., 1895.
- Wallace, Alfred Russel. *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* Londond: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1867.
- Warren, John Esaias. *Para; or Scenes and Adventures on the Banks of the Amazon* New York: G. P. Putnam, 1851.

9.5 SECONDARY SOURCES

- Acevedo, Edna Castro and Rosa. *Negros do Trombetas: Guardiões de Matas e Rios*. Belém: CEJUP-UFPA, 1998.
- Acevedo, Rosa. "Alianças Matrimoniais na Alta Sociedade Paraense no Século XIX." *Estudos Econômicos* 15 (1985): 153-67.
- . "Camponeses, Donos de Engenhos e Escravos na Região do Acará nos Séculos XVIII e XIX." *Papers do NAEA* 153 (2000): 1-26.
- . *Julgados da Terra: Cadeia de Apropriação e Atores Sociais em Conflito na Ilha de Colares*. Belém: UFPA, 2004.
- Acevedo, Rosa, and Edna Castro. *No Caminho das Pedras de Abacatal: Experiência Social de Grupos Negros no Pará*. Belém: UFPA / NAEA, 2004.
- Agorsah, Emmanuel Kofi, ed. *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, Ethnographic, and Historical Perspectives*. Barbados: Canoe Press, 1994.
- Alden, Dauril. "The Significance of Cacao Production in the Amazon Region during the Late Colonial Period: An Essay in Comparative Economic History." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120, 2 (1976): 103-35.
- Almeida, Wilkler. *Tauapará*. Vigia, PA: Edição do Autor, 2005.
- Alonso, Sara. "Fazendo a Unidade: Uma Perspetiva Comparativa na Construção de Itamoari e Jamary como Quilombos." PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2004.
- Amado, Janaina. "O Grande Mentiroso: Tradição, Veracidade e Imaginação em História Oral." *História* 14 (1995): 125-36.
- Anderson, Robin. "The Caboclo as Revolutionary: The Cabanagem Revolt of 1835-36." In *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Eugene P. Parker, 51-87. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.
- . "Following Curupira: Colonization and Migration in Pará, 1758 to 1930 as a Study in Settlement of the Humid Tropics." University of California, Davis, 1976.
- Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America: 1800-2000*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- . *Blacks and Whites in São Paulo, Brazil, 1888-1988*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
- Ângelo, Helder Bruno Palheta. "A Trajetória dos Corrêa de Miranda no Século XIX: Alianças Sociais, Base Econômica e Capital Simbólico." MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2009.
- Appelbaum, Nancy P. *Muddied Waters: Race, Region, and Local History in Colombia, 1846-*

1948. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003.
- Bambirra, Vania. "El Estado en Brasil: Del Dominio Oligárquico a la Apertura Controlada." In *El Estado en América Latina: Teoría y Práctica*, edited by Pablo González Casanova, 247-66. México: Siglo XXI, 1990.
- Barickman, Bert J. "'A Bit of Land, Which They Call *Roça*': Slave Provision Grounds in the Bahian Recôncavo, 1780-1860." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 74, 4 (1994): 649-87.
- Batista, Luciana Marinho. "Demografia, família e resistência no Grão-Pará (1850-1855)." In *Terra Matura: Historiografia e História Social na Amazônia*, edited by José Maia Bezerra Neto and Décio de Alencar Guzmán, 207-41. Belém: Paka-Tatu, 2002.
- . "Muito Além dos Seringais: Elites, Fortunas e Hierarquias no Grão-Pará, c.1850-c.1870." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2004.
- Berlin, Ira. *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves*. Cambridge, MS: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Berlin, Ira, and Philip D. Morgan. "Introduction." In *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas*, edited by Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, 1-27. London: Frank Cass, 1991.
- , eds. *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas*. London: Frank Cass, 1991.
- Besson, Jean. "History, Land and Culture in the English-Speaking Caribbean." In *Land Tenure Center*. London, 2003.
- . *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica*. Chapel Hill, NC: North Carolina University Press, 2002.
- Bezerra Neto, José Maia. "Escravidão e Crescimento Econômico no Pará (1850-1888)." In *Seminário: Fazenda, Alfândega e Tesouro no Pará*, 1-16. Belém do Pará, 2008.
- . *Escravidão Negra no Grão-Pará: Sécs. XVII-XIX*. Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2001.
- . "Histórias Urbanas de Liberdade: Escravos em Fuga na Cidade de Belém, 1860-1888." *Afro-Ásia* 28 (2002): 221-50.
- . "Os fundadores de 1917, herdeiros de 1900? IHGP 90 Anos: História, Memória e Tradições." In *Conference Memória e História do IHGP*. Belém: IHGP, 2007.
- . "Por Todos os Meios Legítimos e Legais: As Lutas contra a Escravidão e os Limites da Abolição (Brasil, Grão-Pará: 1850-1888)." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo, 2009.
- Blackburn, Robin. *A Queda do Escravismo Colonial, 1776-1848*. Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2002.
- Blomley, Nicholas. "Landscapes of Property." *Law & Society Review* 32, 3 (1998): 567-612.
- Bolland, O. Nigel. "The Politics of Freedom in the British Caribbean." In *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America*, edited by O. Nigel Bolland, 163-91. Belize: Angelus Press, 1997.
- . "'Proto-Proletarians?' Slave Wages in the Americas: Between Slave Labour and Free

- Labour." In *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America*, edited by O. Nigel Bolland, 101-31. Belize: Angelus Press, 1997.
- . ed. *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America*. Belize: Angelus Press, 1997.
- . "Systems of Domination After Slavery: The Control of Land and Labor in the British West Indies After 1838." In *Struggles for Freedom: Essays on Slavery, Colonialism, and Culture in the Caribbean and Central America*, 131-61. Belize: Angelus Press Ltd., 1997.
- . "Timber Extraction and the Shaping of Enslaved People's Culture in Belize." In *Slavery Without Sugar: Diversity in Caribbean Economy and Society since the 17th Century*, edited by Verene Shepherd, 36-62. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002.
- Borges, Ricardo. *Castanha e Oleaginosas da Amazônia*. Belém: Associação Comercial do Pará, 1952.
- . *O Pará Republicano, 1824-1929 : Ensaio Histórico*. Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1983.
- . *Vultos Notáveis do Pará*. Belém: CEJUP, 1986.
- Brannstrom, Christian. "Producing Possession: Labour, Law and Land on a Brazilian Agricultural Frontier, 1920-1945." *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 859-883.
- Campbell, John. "As 'A Kind of Freeman'? : Slaves' Market-Related Activities in the South Carolina Upcountry, 1800-1860." In *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas*, edited by Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, 131-69. London: Frank Cass, 1991.
- Cancela, Cristina Donza. "Casamento e Relações Familiares na Economia da Borracha (Belém 1870-1920)." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006.
- Cardoso, Alanna Souto. "Apontamentos para História da Família e Demografia Histórica da Capitania do Grão-Pará (1750-1790)." Unpublished MA Thesis, UFPA, 2008.
- Cardoso, Ciro Flamarion S. *Economia e Sociedade em Áreas Coloniais Periféricas: Guiana Francesa e Pará, 1750-1817*. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1984.
- . "The Peasant Breach in the Slave System: New Developments in Brazil." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 25, 1 (1988): 49-57.
- Carneiro, Edison. *O Quilombo dos Palmares*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1958.
- Castro, Edna ed. CD-ROM *Quilombolas do Pará*. Belém: UFPA/NAEA, 2005.
- Chambouleyron, Rafael. "Escravos do Atlântico Equatorial: Tráfico Negro para o Estado do Maranhão e Pará (Século XVII e Início do Século XVIII)." *Revista Brasileira de História* 26, 52 (2006): 79-114.
- . "The 'Government of the Sertões:' Cane Brandy, Sugar, and Indians in Colonial Amazonia." 1-31. Belém: UFPA, 2008.
- . *Povoamento, Ocupação e Agricultura na Amazônia Colonial (1640-1706)*. Belém: Açaí

- / UFPA, 2010.
- Cleary, David. "Lost Altogether to the Civilised World": Race and the Cabanagem in Northern Brazil, 1750 to 1850." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40, 1 (1998): 109-35.
- Coimbra, Creso. *O Pará na Revolução de 30: História, Análise Crítica e Reflexão* Belém: Instituto de Cultura, 1981.
- Conrad, Robert Edgar. *Children of God's Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983.
- . *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Cooper, Frederick, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott. *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Cordeiro, Paulo. *O Carimbó da Vigia*. Vigia (Brazil): Edições do Autor, 2010.
- Costa, Francisco De Assis. *Ecologismo e Questão Agrária na Amazônia*, Estudos SEPEQ. Belém: Núcleo de Altos Estudos Amazônicos, 1992.
- Coutinho, Amélia, and Sérgio Flaksman. "Barata, Magalhães." In *Dicionário Histórico-Biográfico Brasileiro: 1930-1983*, edited by Israel Beloch and Alzira Alves De Abreu, 294-96. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Forense-Universitária / Fundação Getúlio Vargas / Financiadora de Estudos e Projetos, 1984.
- Da Cunha, Olívia Maria, E Flávio Dos Santos Gomes, ed. *Quase-Cidadão: Histórias e Antropologias da Pós-Emancipação no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2007.
- De Almeida, Alfredo Wagner Berno. "Os Quilombos e as Novas Etnias." In *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica E Territorialidade*, edited by Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer, 43-81. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2002.
- De Andrade, Manuel Correia. "A Questão da Terra na Primeira República." In *História Econômica da Primeira República*, edited by Sérgio S. Silva and Tamás Szmrecsányi, 143-57. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996.
- De Azevedo, Esterzilda. *Arquitetura do Açúcar: Engenhos do Recôncavo Baiano no Período Colonial*. São Paulo: Nobel, 1990.
- De Azevedo, Idaliana Marinho. *Puxirum: Memória dos Negros do Oeste Paraense*. Belém: Instituto de Artes do Pará, 2002.
- De Carvalho, José Jorge. "A Experiência Histórica nas Américas e no Brasil." In *O Quilombo do Rio das Rãs: Histórias, Tradições, Lutas* edited by José Jorge De Carvalho, 13-75. Salvador: EDUFBA, 1996.
- De Gusmão, Neusa Maria Mendes. "Herança Quilombola: Negros, Terras e Direitos." In *Brasil: Um país de Negros?*, edited by Jefferson Bacelar and Carlos Caroso, 143-61. Rio de Janeiro: PALLAS / CEAO, 1999.
- De Holanda, Sérgio Buarque, Pedro Moacyr Campos, and Boris Fausto. *História geral da civilização brasileira*. 8th ed. Vol. 9. Sociedade e Instituições (1889-1930). São Paulo: Bertrand Brasil, 2006.

- . *História geral da civilização brasileira*. 8th ed. Vol. 7. Do Império à República. São Paulo: Bertrand Brasil, 2006.
- De La Fuente, Ariel. *Children of Facundo: Caudillo and Gaucho Insurgency during the Argentine State-Formation Process (La Rioja, 1853-1870)*. Durham / London: Duke University Press, 2000.
- De La Fuente, Alejandro. *A Nation for All: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- , ed. *Su Único Derecho: Los Esclavos y la Ley*. Vol. 4, Debate y Perspectivas: Cuadernos de Historia y Ciencias Sociales Madrid: Fundación Mapfre, 2004.
- De Macêdo, Sidiana Da Consolação Ferreira "Daquilo que se Come: Uma História do Abastecimento e da Alimentação em Belém (1850-1900)." MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2009.
- De Miranda, Victorino Coutinho Chermont. *A Família Chermont: Memória Histórica e Genealógica*. Rio de Janeiro: ?, 1982.
- De Oliveira Filho, João Pacheco. "O Caboclo e o Brabo: Notas Sobre Duas Modalidades de Força-de-Trabalho na Expansão da Fronteira Amazônica no Século XIX." *Civilização Brasileira* (1979): 101-40.
- De Queiroz, Jonas Marçal. "Trabalho Escravo, Imigração e Colonização no Grão-Pará (1877-1888)." In *Amazônia: Modernização e Conflito (Séculos XVIII e XIX)*, edited by Jonas Marçal de Queiroz, 83-116. Belém: UFPA-UNIFAP, 2001.
- , and Mauro Cezar Coelho. *Amazônia : Modernização e Conflito, séculos XVIII e XIX*. Belém: Universidade Federal do Pará, 2001.
- De Resende, Maria Efigênia Lage. "O Processo Político na Primeira República e o Liberalismo Oligárquico." In *O Brasil Republicano*, edited by Jorge Luiz Ferreira and Lucília de Almeida Neves Delgado, 89-121. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003.
- De Toral, André Amaral. "A Participação dos Negros Escravos na Guerra do Paraguai." *Estudos Avançados* 9, 24 (1995): 287-96.
- Dean, Warren. *Brazil and the Struggle for Rubber: A Study in Environmental History*. Cambridge, MS: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . "Latifundia and Land Policy in Nineteenth-Century Brazil." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, 4 (1971): 606-25.
- Diacon, Todd A. "Peasants, Prophets, and the Power of a Millenarian Vision in Twentieth-Century Brazil." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, 3 (1990): 488-514.
- Dubois, Laurent. *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787-1804*. Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 2004.
- Eltis, David. "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment " *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58, 1 (2001): 17-46.
- Emmi, Marília. *Italianos na Amazônia (1870-1950): Pioneirismo Econômico e Identidade*. Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2008.

- Emmi, Marília Ferreira. *A Oligarquia do Tocantins e o Domínio dos Castanhais* Belém: UFPA/NAEA, 1999.
- Fausto, Boris. *Brasil, de Colonia a Democracia*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1995.
- . *A Revolução de 1930: Historiografia e História* São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982.
- Ferreira, Jorge Luiz, and Lucília De Almeida Neves Delgado. *O Brasil Republicano*. 4 vols. Vol. 1. O Tempo do Liberalismo Excludente. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2003.
- Ferrer, Ada. *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898*. Durham, NC: The University of North Carolina Press 1999.
- Fick, Carolyn E. *The Making of Haiti: The Saint-Domingue Revolution from Below*. Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1990.
- Florentino, Manolo Garcia, and João Luis Ribeiro Frago. "Marcelino, Filho de Inocência Crioula, Neto de Joana Cabinda: Um Estudo sobre Famílias Escravas em Paraíba do Sul (1835-1872) " *Estudos Econômicos* 17, 2 (1987): 151-73.
- Florentino, Manolo Garcia, and Cecilia Machado. "Famílias e Mercado: Tipologias Parentais de Acordo ao Grau de Afastamento do Mercado de Cativos (Século XIX)." *Afro-Ásia* 24 (2000): 51-70.
- Foner, Eric. *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*. New York: Harper & Row, 1988.
- Foweraker, Joe. *The Struggle for Land: A Political Economy of the Pioneer Frontier in Brazil from 1930 to the Present Day* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Frank, Zephyr. "The Brazilian Far West: Frontier Development in Mato Grosso, 1870-1937." PhD Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1999.
- . "Elite Families and Oligarchic Politics on the Brazilian Frontier." *Latin American Research Review* 36, 1 (2001): 49-74.
- Frazão, Carlos. *Castanha do Brasil (Brazil Nuts): Quatro Castanhas Equivalem a Dois Ovos de Gallinha*. Belém Unknown publisher, 1935.
- Freitas, Décio. *La Revolución de las Clases Infames*. Buenos Aires: El Ateneo, 2008.
- French, Jan Hoffman. "Buried Alive: Imagining Africa in the Brazilian Northeast." *American Ethnologist* 33, 3 (2006): 340-60.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Interpretación del Brasil*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1945.
- Fry, Peter, and Carlos Vogt. *Cafundó, a Africa no Brasil : Linguagem e Sociedade*. São Paulo: Editora da Unicamp, 1996.
- Funari, Pedro Pablo , and Aline Vieira De Carvalho. *Palmares Ontem e Hoje*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, 2005.
- Funes, Euripedes. "'Nasci nas Matas, Nunca Tive Senhor': História e Memória dos Mocambos do Baixo amazonas." PhD Dissertation, FFLCH / USP, 1995.
- Funes, Eurípedes A. "Mocambos do Trombetas: Memória e Etnicidade (Séculos XIX e XX)." In *Os Senhores dos Rios: Amazônia, Margens e Histórias*, edited by Mary Del Priore, and

- Flávio Gomes, 227-57. Rio de Janeiro: Elsevier, 2003.
- García-Jordán, Pilar. *Cruz y Arado, Fusiles y Discursos: la construcción de los Orientes en el Perú y Bolivia, 1820-1940*. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2001.
- Giucci, Guillermo, Et Al, ed. *Gilberto Freyre: Casa-grande & Senzala. Edição Crítica*. Paris: Ed. Unesco, 2002.
- Gomes, Flavio *Histórias de Quilombolas: Mocambos e Comunidades de Senzalas no Rio de Janeiro, Século XIX*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2006.
- Gomes, Flavio, Jonas Marçal De Queiroz, and Mauro César Coelho. *Relatos de Fronteiras: Fontes para a História da Amazônia*. Belém: UFPA / NAEA, 1999.
- Gomes, Flavio Dos Santos. "Etnicidade e Fronteiras Cruzadas nas Guianas (sécs. XVIII-XX)." *Estudios Afroamericanos Virtual* 2 (2004): 30-58.
- . *A Hydra e os Pântanos: Mocambos, Quilombos e Comunidades de Fugitivos no Brasil (séculos XVII – XIX)*. São Paulo: UNESP, 2005.
- . *Nas Terras do Cabo Norte: Fronteiras, Colonização, e Escravidão na Guiana Brasileira, Sécs. XVIII / XIX*. Belém: UFPA, 1999.
- . "Roceiros, Mocambeiros e as Fronteiras da Emancipação no Maranhão." In *Quase-Cidadão: Histórias e Antropologias da Pós-Emancipação no Brasil*, edited by Olívia Maria da Cunha, e Flávio dos Santos Gomes, 147-71. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2007.
- . "Slavery, Black Peasants, and Post-Emancipation Society in Brazil (Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro)." *Social Identities* 10 (2004): 735-56.
- Gomes, Flavio Dos Santos, And Sabina Gledhill. "'A Safe Haven:' Runaway Slaves, Mocambos, and Borders in Colonial Amazonia, Brazil." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82, 3 (2002): 469-98.
- Goulart, José Alipio. *O Regatão (Mascate Fluvial da Amazônia)*. Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1968.
- Graham, Richard. *Patronage and Politics in Ninetenth-Century Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Gray, John. *El Liberalismo*. Madrid: Alianza, 2002.
- Guimarães, Elione Silva. *Múltiplos Viveres de Afrodescendentes na Escravidão e no Pós-Emancipação: Família, Trabalho, Terra e Conflito (Juiz de Fora - MG, 1828-1928)*. São Paulo / Juiz de Fora: Annablume / Funalfa Edições 2006.
- Harris, Mark. *Life on the Amazon: The Anthropology of a Peasant Village*. London: British Academy, 2001.
- . *Rebellion on the Amazon: The Cabanagem, Race, and Popular Culture in the North of Brazil, 1798-1840*. Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Hébette, Jean, Juliette Miranda Alves, Rosángela Da S. Quintela. "Parentesco, Vizinhança, e Organização Profissional na Formação da Fronteira Amazônica." In *No Mar, nos Rios e na Fronteira: Faces do Campesinato no Pará* edited by Jean Hébette, Sônia Barbosa Magalhães, Maria Cristina Maneschy, 173-202. Belém: UFPA, 2002.

- Hébette, Jean, Maria Cristina Maneschy, and Sônia Barbosa Magalhães, eds. *No Mar, nos Rios e na Fronteira: Faces do Campesinato no Pará*. Belém: UFPA, 2002.
- Hecht, Susanna B. "Factories, Forests, Fields and Family: Gender and Neoliberalism in Extractive Reserves." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 7, 3 (2007): 316-47.
- Hemming, John. *Amazon Frontier: The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians*. London: Macmillan London, 1987.
- Heuman, Gad. *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance, and Marronage in Africa and the New World*. London: Frank Cass, 1986.
- Hoffmann, Odile. *Comunidades Negras en el Pacífico Colombiano: Dinámicas e Innovaciones Étnicas*. Quito: IFEA / IRD / Ediciones Abya-Yala, 2007.
- Holston, James. "Restricting Access to Landed Property." In *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*, 112-45. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Ianni, Octavio. *A Luta Pela Terra: História Social da Terra e da Luta Pela Terra Numa Área da Amazônia*. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1978.
- Ildone, José. *Noções de História da Vigia*. Belém: Edições CEJUP, 1991.
- Izard, Miquel. *Orejanos, Cimarrones, y Arrochelados*. Barcelona: Sendai, 1988.
- James, Daniel. "Meatpackers, Peronists, and Collective Memory: A View from the South." *American Historical Review* 102, 5 (1997).
- Johnson, Walter. "On Agency." *Journal of Social History* 37, 1 (2003): 113-24.
- Juliano, Dolores. "Expansión de fronteras sobre comunidades indígenas." In *La cara india, la cruz del 92 Identidad étnica y movimientos indios*, edited by Jesús Contreras, 57-81. Madrid: Talasa, 1992.
- Kelly-Normand, Arlene Marie. "Africanos na Amazônia: Cem Anos Antes da Abolição." *Cadernos Centro de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas* 18 (1988): 1-21.
- Kerr-Ritchie, Jeffrey. *Freedpeople in the Tobacco South: Virginia, 1860-1900*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Kokomoor, Kevin. "A Re-Assessment of Seminoles, Africans, and Slavery on the Florida Frontier." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 88, 2 (2009): 209-36.
- La Rosa Corzo, Gabino. *Runaway Slave Settlements in Cuba: Resistance and Repression*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Landers, Jane. "Cimarrón and Citizen: African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean." In *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Jane Landers and Barry Robinson. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
- Laviña, Javier. "Comunidades Afroamericanas: Identidad de Resistencia." *Boletín Americanista* 48 (1998): 139-51.
- . *Cuba: Plantación y Adoctrinamiento*. Tenerife: Ediciones Idea, 2007.

- Leal, Luiz Augusto Pinheiro. "Capoeira, Boi-Bumbá e Política no Pará Republicano (1889-1906)." *Afro-Ásia* 32 (2005): 241-69.
- Leite, Serafim. *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*. Vol. 4, 5. Rio de Janeiro / Lisboa: Instituto Nacional do Livro / Livraria Portugália, 1943.
- Levine, Robert M. *Father of the Poor? Vargas and his Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . *The Vargas Regime: The Critical Years, 1934-1938*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1970.
- Lima, Luciano Demetrius Barbosa. "Os Motins Políticos de Um Ilustrado Liberal: História, Memória e Narrativa na Amazônia em Fins do Século XIX." Unpublished MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2010.
- Linhares E Francisco Carlos Teixeira Da Silva, Maria Yedda. *Terra Prometida: Uma História da Questão Agrária no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 1999.
- Lobato, Eládio. *Caminho de Canoa Pequena*. Belém: ?, 2007.
- Lockley, Timothy James. *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009.
- Macaulay, Neill, and David Bushnell. *El Nacimiento de los Países Latinoamericanos*. Madrid: Nerea, 1989.
- Machado, André Roberto De Arruda. "A Quebra da Mola Real das Sociedades: A Crise Política do Antigo Regime Português na Província do Grão-Pará (1821-25)." Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2006.
- Machado, Cacilda. "O Patriarcalismo Possível: Relações de Poder em uma Região do Brasil Escravista em que o Trabalho Familiar era a Norma." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População* 23, 1 (2006): 167-86.
- Maclachlan, Colin. "African Slave Trade and Economic Development in Amazonia." In *Slavery and Race Relations in Latin America*, edited by Robert B. Toplin, 112-45. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1974.
- . "The Indian Directorate: Forced Acculturation in Portuguese America (1757-1799)." *The Americas* 28, 4 (1972): 357-87.
- . "The Indian Labor Structure in the Portuguese Amazon, 1700-1800." In *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil*, edited by Dauril Alden, 199-230. Berkeley University of California Press, 1973.
- Mahony, Mary Ann. "Afro-Brazilians, Land Reform, and the Question of Social Mobility in Southern Bahia, 1880-1920." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 34, 2 (1997): 59.
- . "Creativity under Constraint: Enslaved Afro-Brazilian Families in Brazil's Cacao Area, 1870-1890." *Journal of Social History* 41, 3 (2008): 633-66.
- Mainwaring, Scott. *A Igreja Católica e a Política no Brasil*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989.
- Malcher, Jane Aparecida Marques and Maria Ataíde, ed. *Territórios Quilombolas*. Belém: ITERPA, 2009.

- Maranhão, Centro De Cultura Negra Do, and Sociedade Maranhense De Direitos Humanos, eds. *Terras de Preto no Maranhão: Quebrando o Mito do Isolamento*. São Luís: SMDDHH / CCNM, 2002.
- Marques, Fernando Luiz Tavares. "Modelo da Agroindústria Canavieira Colonial no Estuário Amazônico: Estudo Arqueológico de Engenhos dos Séculos XVIII e XIX " PhD Thesis, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul, 2004.
- Marques, Fernando Luiz Tavares, and Scott Douglas Anderson. "Engenhos Movidos a Maré no Estuário do Amazonas: Vestígios Encontrados no Município de Igarapé-Miri, Pará." *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi - Série Antropologia* 8, 2 (1992): 295-301.
- Marull, Yana. "Tres millones de descendientes de esclavos viven aún en Brasil en remotas aldeas sin ningún servicio." *El Periódico*, 14 July 2009.
- Mata, Iacy Maia. "'Libertos de Treze de Maio" e Ex-Senhores na Bahia: Conflitos no Pós-Abolição." *Afro-Ásia* 35 (2007): 163-98.
- Maués, Raymundo Heraldo. *Padres, Pajés, Santos e Festas: Catolicismo Popular e Controle Eclesiástico: Um Estudo Antropológico numa Área do Interior da Amazônia*. Belém: CEJUP, 1995.
- Maxwell, Kenneth. *Pombal: Paradox of the Enlightenment*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Mcfarlane, Anthony. "Cimarrones and Palenques: Runaways and Resistance in Colonial Colombia." In *Out of the House of Bondage*, edited by Gad Heuman, 131-51. London: Frank Cass, 1986.
- Meggers, Betty. *Amazonia: Man and Culture in a Counterfeit Paradise: Revised Edition*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996.
- Meira, Octavio. *A Primeira República no Pará*. Belém: Falangola, 1976.
- Milner, Neal. "Ownership Rights and the Rites of Ownership." *Law & Social Inquiry* 18, 2 (1993): 227-53.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Caribbean Transformations*. New York: Columbia University Press 1989.
- Mintz, Sidney W., and Richard Price. *O Nascimento da Cultura Afroamericana: Uma Perspectiva Antropológica*. Rio de Janeiro: PALLAS / CEAB, 2003.
- Moreira, Edma Silva. "Memória Social e Luta pela Preservação dos Recursos Naturais: o Caso de São João, uma Comunidade Varzeira da Amazônia." In *No Mar, nos Rios e na Fronteira: Faces do Campesinato no Pará*, edited by Jean Hébette, Sônia Barbosa Magalhães, Maria Cristina Maneschy, 111-30. Belém: UFPA, 2002.
- Morgan, Ira Berlin and Philip D., ed. *The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas*. London: Frank Cass, 1995.
- Morgan, Philip D. "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 39, 4 (1982): 564-99.
- Mori, Scott A., and Ghillen T. Prance. "Taxonomy, Ecology, and Economic Botany of the Brazil Nut (*Bertholletia excelsa* Humb. & Bonpl.: Lecythidaceae)." *Advances in Economic Botany* 8 (1990): 130-50.

- Motta, Márcia Maria Menendes. *Nas Fronteiras do Poder: Conflito e Direito á Terra no Brasil do Século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Vício de Leitura / Arquivo Público do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, 1998.
- Motta-Maués, Maria Angélica. “*Trabalhadeiras*” e “*Camarados:*” *Relações de Gênero, Simbolismo e Ritualização numa Comunidade Amazônica* Belém: UFPA, 1993.
- Moura, Margarida Maria. *Os Deserdados da Terra: A Lógica Costumeira e Judicial nos Processos de Expulsão e Invasão da Terra Camponesa no Sertão de Minas Gerais*. Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1988.
- Moya, José. *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*. Berkeley (CA): University of California Press, 1998.
- Mulroy, Kevin. *The Seminole Maroons in Florida, the Indian Territory, Coahuila, and Texas* Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1993.
- Naro, Nancy. "Customary Rightholders and Legal Claimants to Land in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1870-1890." *The Americas* 48, 4 (1992): 485-517.
- . *A Slave's Place, A Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil*. London and New York: Continuum, 2000.
- Nugent, Stephen. *Amazonian Caboclo Society: An Essay on Invisibility and Peasant Economy*. Providence, RI: Berg, 1993.
- . "Whither O Campesinato? Historical peasantries of Brazilian Amazonia." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 29, 3 (2002): 162-89.
- O'dwyer, Eliane Cantarino. "Os Quilombos da Bacia do Rio Trombetas: Breve Histórico." In *Terra de Quilombos*, edited by Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer, 47-60. Rio de Janeiro: ABA / CFCH - UFRJ, 1995.
- . "Os Quilombos do Trombetas e do Erepecuru-Cuminá " In *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica e Territorialidade*, edited by Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer, 255-80. Rio de Janeiro: ABA / FGV Editora, 2002.
- , ed. *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica e Territorialidade*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2002.
- O'dwyer, Eliane Cantarino, and José Paulo Freire De Carvalho. "Jamy dos Pretos, Município de Turiaçu (MA)." In *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica e Territorialidade*, edited by Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer, 173-211. Rio de Janeiro: Associação Brasileira de Antropologia / Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2002.
- Palheta, Aécio. *Vigia Ainda Ontem* Belém: IOE, 1995.
- Parker, Eugene. "The Amazon Caboclo: an Introduction and Overview." In *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Eugene P. Parker, xvii-li. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.
- . "Caboclization: The Transformation of the Amerindian in Amazonia 1615-1800." In *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Eugene P. Parker, 1-51. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.

- Parker, Eugene P., ed. *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Vol. 32, Studies in Third World Societies. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.
- Pastana, Andréa Da Silva. "Em Nome De Deus, Amém!: Mulheres, Escravos, Famílias, e Heranças através dos Testamentos em Belém do Grão Pará na Primeira Metade do Século XIX." MA Thesis, Universidade Federal do Pará, 2008.
- Penna, Domingos Soares Ferreira. *Obras Completas de Domingos Soares Ferreira Penna*. Edited by Conselho Estadual de Cultura. Vol. II. Belém: Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1971.
- Penningroth, Dylan C. "The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison." *The American Historical Review* 12, 4 (2007): 1039-69.
- Peres, Carlos A., and Claudia Baider. "Seed Dispersal, Spatial Distribution and Population Structure of Brazilnut Trees (*Bertholletia Excelsa*) in Southeastern Amazonia." *Journal of Tropical Ecology* 13, 4 (1997): 595-616.
- Petit, Pere. *Chão de Promessas: Elites Políticas e Transformações Econômicas no Estado do Pará pós-1964*. Belém: Paka-Tatu Ltda, 2003.
- . *A Esperança Equilibrista: A Trajetória do PT no Pará*. Belém: Boitempo Editora, 2003.
- Pinto, Benedita Celeste De Moraes. *Nas Veredas da Sobrevivência: Memória, Gênero e Símbolos de Poder Feminino em Povoados Amazônicos*. Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2004.
- Portelli, Alessandro. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.
- . "What Makes Oral History Different." In *The Oral History Reader*, edited by Alistair Thomson Robert Perks, 63-74. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Prat, Fr. André, O.C. *Notas Históricas Sobre as Missões Carmelitanas no Extremo Norte do Brasil, Séculos XVII e XVIII*. Mossoró, RN: Fundação Guimarães Duque / Fundação Vingt Un Rosado 2003.
- Price, Richard. *First-Time: The Historical Vision of an Afro-American People*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- . "Liberdade, Fronteras e Deuses: Saramacas no Oiapoque (c. 1900)." In *Quase-Cidadão: Histórias e Antropologias da Pós-Emancipação no Brasil* edited by Olívia Maria da Cunha, e Flávio dos Santos Gomes, 147-71. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV 2007.
- , ed. *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979.
- . "Palmares como Poderia Ter Sido." In *Liberdade Por Um Fio*, edited by Flavio Gomes and João José Reis, 52-59. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996.
- Putnam, Lara. *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870-1960*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001.
- Ransom, Roger, and Richard Sutch. *One Kind of Freedom: The Economic Consequences of Emancipation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

- Reis, Flavio Gomes and João José, ed. *Liberdade por um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil* São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996.
- Reis, João José. "Escravos e Coiteiros no Quilombo do Oitizeiro: Bahia, 1806." In *Liberdade Por Um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil*, edited by João José Reis and Flavio Gomes, 332-72. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996.
- . *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Reis, João José, and Flavio Gomes. "Uma História de Liberdade." In *Liberdade Por um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil*, edited by João José Reis and Flavio Gomes, 9-26. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996.
- Ribeiro, Matilde. "O Chamado do Quilombo." *Raça Brasil*, May 2005.
- Ricci, Magda. "A Cabanagem, a Terra, os Rios e os Homens na Amazônia: o Outro Lado de uma Revolução (1835-1840)." ———. "De la Independencia a la Revolución Cabana: La Amazonía y el Nacimiento de Brasil (1808-1840)." In *La Amazonía Brasileña en Perspectiva Histórica* edited by José Manuel Santos, and Pere Petit, 59-91. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006.
- . "Nação e Revolução: A Cabanagem e a Experiência da "Brasilidade" na Amazônia (1820-1840)." In *T(r)ópicos de História: Gente, Espaço e Tempo na Amazônia (Séculos XVII a XXI)*, edited by José Luis Ruíz-Peinado and Rafael Chambouleyron, 141-62. Belém: Açai / Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social da Amazônia (UFPA), 2010.
- Rios, Ana Maria Lugão. "'My mother was a slave, not I!': Black peasantry and regional politics in southeast Brazil, 1870-1940." PhD Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2002.
- Rios, Ana Maria Lugão, and Hebe Maria Mattos De Castro. *Memórias do Cativo: Família, Trabalho e Cidadania no Pós-Abolição*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2005.
- . "O pós-abolição como problema histórico: balanços e perspectivas." *Topoi* 5, 8 (2004): 170-98.
- . "Para Além das Senzalas: Campesinato, Política e Trabalho Rural no Rio de Janeiro Pós-Abolição." In *Quase-Cidadão: Histórias e Antropologias da Pós-Emancipação no Brasil*, edited by Olívia Maria da Cunha, e Flávio dos Santos Gomes, 23-55. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2007.
- Roque, Carlos. *Magalhães Barata: O Homem, a Lenda, o Político*. Vol. 1. Belém: SECULT, 1999.
- Rodrigue, John C. *Reconstruction in the Cane Fields: From Slavery to Free Labor in Louisiana's Sugar Parishes, 1862-1880* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.
- Rodrigues, José Damião. "'Para o Socego e Tranquilidade Publica das Ilhas:' Fundamentos, Ambição e Limites das Reformas Pombalinas nos Açores." *Tempo* 11, 21 (2006): 144-70.
- Roller, Heather Flynn. "Colonial Collecting Expeditions and the Pursuit of Opportunities in the Amazonian Sertão, c. 1750-1800." *The Americas* 66, 4 (2010).
- Ross, Eric B. "The Evolution of the Amazon Peasantry." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 10, 2

- (1978): 193-218.
- Ruiz-Peinado, José Luis. "Amazonía Negra." In *La Amazonía Brasileña en Perspectiva Histórica*, edited by José Manuel Santos Pérez and Pere Petit, 23-59. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2006.
- . *Cimarronaje en Brasil: Mocambos del Trombetas*. Valencia, Spain: El Cep i la Nansa, 2003.
- . "Maravilla, Ataque y Defensa de un Mocambo en la Amazonía." In *Relaciones Sociales e Identidades en América*, edited by Gabriela Dalla Corte, et al., 107-21. Barcelona: Edicions de la UB, 2002.
- . "Misioneros en el Río Trombetas: La Subida del Padre Carmelo de Mazzarino." *Boletín Americanista* 54 (2004): 177-98.
- . "Tiempos Afroindígenas en la Amazonia: Primera Mitad del Siglo XIX." *Revista de Indias* LXX, 249 (2010): 583-607.
- Ruiz-Peinado, José Luis, and Cristina Larrea. "Memoria y Territorio Quilombola en Brasil." *Quaderns de l'Institut Català d'Antropologia* 20 (2004): 191-215.
- Ruiz-Peinado, José Luis, and Javier Laviña. *Resistencias Esclavas en las Américas*. Madrid: Doce Calles, 2006.
- Ruiz-Peinado, José Luis, and Nilma Bentes. "Organitzacions socials al Brasil. El Moviment Negre." *L'Avenç* 286 (2003): 37-43.
- Safford, Frank. "Politics, Ideology, and Society in Post-Independence Spanish America." In *Cambridge History of Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, 347-421. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Salles, Vicente. *O Negro na Formação da Sociedade Paraense: Textos Reunidos*. Belém: Paká-Tatu, 2004.
- . *O Negro no Pará Sob o Regime da Escravidão*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas-Universidade Federal do Pará, 1971.
- Salles, Vicente, and Marena Isdebski Salles. "Carimbó: Trabalho e Lazer do Caboclo." *Revista Brasileira de Folklore* 9, 25 (1969): 257-82.
- Salomão, Rafael De Paiva. "Densidade, Estrutura e Distribuição Espacial de Castanheira-do-Brasil (*Bertholletia excelsa* H. & B.) em Dois Platôs de Floresta Ombrófila Densa na Amazônia Setentrional Brasileira." *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi. Ciências Naturais* 4, 1 (2009): 11-25.
- Sampaio, Sheila Brasileiro and José Augusto. "Sacutiaba e Riacho de Sacutiaba: uma comunidade negra rural no oeste baiano." In *Quilombos: Identidade Étnica e Territorialidade*, edited by Eliane Cantarino O'Dwyer, 83-109. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fundação Getúlio Vargas, 2002.
- Sanders, James. *Contentious Republicans: Popular Politics, Race, and Class in Nineteenth-Century Colombia*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.
- Santos, Roberto. *História Econômica da Amazônia: 1800-1920*. São Paulo, Brazil: T.A. Queiroz, 1980.

- Sarges, Maria De Nazaré. *Belém: Riquezas Produzindo a Belle-Époque (1870-1912)* Belém, Brazil: Paká-Tatu, 2002.
- Schulman, Ivan A., ed. *Juan Francisco Manzano: Autobiografía de un Esclavo*. Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, 1975.
- Schwartz, Stuart. *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Bahian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Scott, Rebecca. *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2005.
- . "Reclamando la Mula de Gregoria Quesada: El Significado de la Libertad en los Valles del Arimao y del Caunao, Cienfuegos, Cuba " *Illes i Imperis* 2, Spring 1999 (1999): 89-108.
- . *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- . "The Provincial Archive as a Place of Memory: Confronting Oral and Written Sources on the Role of Former Slaves in the Cuban War of Independence (1895-98)." *History Workshop Journal*, no. 58 (2004): 149-66.
- Scott, Rebecca, and Michael Zeuske. "Demandas de Propiedad y Ciudadanía: Los Exesclavos y sus Descendientes en la Región Central de Cuba." *Illes i Imperis* 5 (Fall 2001): 109-34.
- Sheridan, Richard. "The Maroons of Jamaica, 1730-1830: Livelihood, Demography and Health." In *Out of the House of Bondage*, edited by Gad Heuman, 152-72. London: Frank Cass, 1986.
- Sheriff, Robin E. *Dreaming Equality: Color, Race and Racism in Urban Brazil*. New York and London: Rutgers, 2001.
- Silva, Ligia Maria Osorio. "A Apropriação Territorial na Primeira República." In *História Econômica da Primeira República*, edited by Sérgio S. Silva and Tamás Szmrecsányi, 157-71. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996.
- Skidmore, Thomas. *Brasil: De Getúlio a Castelo (1930-1964)*. Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Saga, 1969.
- Slenes, Robert. *Na Senzala, Uma Flor: Esperanças e Recordações na Formação da Família Escrava - Brasil Sudeste, Século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999.
- Sodré, Emmanuel. *Lauro Sodré na História da República*. Rio de Janeiro: Edição do Autor, 1970.
- Soeiro, Francisco. "Collection of 85 Carimbó Lyrics Compiled by Francisco Soeiro." Vigia, Unknown year, c.1930-60.
- Soja, Edward W. *Geografias Pós-Modernas: A Reafirmação do Espaço na Teoria Social Crítica*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1993.
- Sommer, Barbara A. "Cracking Down on the Cunhamenas: Renegade Amazonian Traders under Pombaline Reforms " *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38 (2006): 767-91.
- Stanfield, Michael Edward. *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees: Violence, Slavery, and Empire in*

- Northwest Amazonia 1850-1933*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.
- Stein, Stanley J. *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900: The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Sweet, James H. "Mistaken Identities? Olaudah Equiano, Domingos Álvares, and the Methodological Challenges of Studying the African Diaspora." *The American Historical Review* 114, 2 (2009): 279-306.
- Tavares, João Walter. *Inventário Cultural, Social, Político e Econômico de Oriximiná*. Oriximiná: Prefeitura Municipal de Oriximiná, 2006.
- Teixeira, Lygia Conceição Leitão. *Marambiré: O Negro no Folclore Paraense*. Belém: Secretaria de Cultura / Fundação Cultural do Pará Tancredo Neves, 1989.
- Telles, Edward. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004.
- Thompson, Alvin O. *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006.
- Tocantins, Sylvia Helena. *No Tronco da Sapopema: Vivências Interioranas*. Belém: Imprensa Oficial, 1998.
- Toplin, Robert B. *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil*. New York: Atheneum, 1975.
- Treccani, Girolamo Domenico. *Violência e Grilagem: Instrumentos de Aquisição da Propriedade da Terra no Pará*. Belém: UFPA/ITERPA, 2001.
- Turner, Mary, ed. *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995.
- Velho, Otávio Guilherme. *Frentes de Expansão e Estrutura Agrária: Estudo do Processo de Penetração numa Área da Transamazônica*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1972.
- Vieira Junior, Antonio Otaviano, and Daniel Souza Barroso. "Histórias de "Movimentos": Embarcações e População Portuguesas na Amazônia Joanina." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População* 27, 1 (2010): 193-210.
- Wagley, Charles. *Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964.
- . "Foreword: The Amazon Caboclo " In *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Eugene Philip Parker, vii-xvi. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.
- Washbrook, Sarah. "'Una Esclavitud Simulada': Debt Peonage in the State of Chiapas, Mexico, 1876-1911." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 33, 3 (2006): 367-412.
- Weber, David. *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Weinstein, Barbara. *The Amazon Rubber Boom: 1850-1920*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1983.
- . "Persistence of Caboclo Culture in the Amazon: The Impact of the Rubber Trade, 1850-1920." In *The Amazon Caboclo: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by

- Eugene P. Parker, 89-113. Williamsburg, VA: Department of Anthropology - College of William and Mary, 1985.
- White, Richard. "What is Spatial History?" Stanford University Spatial History Lab, <http://www.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=29>.
- Whitten, Arlene Torres and Norman. "Blackness in the Americas." *NACLA, Report on the Americas* 25 (1992): 16-22.
- Woodman, Harold. *New South-New Law: The Legal Foundations of Credit and Labor Relations in the Postbellum Agricultural South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995.